

THE
SCOTTISH REVIEW.

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ART. I.—ARCHBISHOP TAIT.

1. *A Charge delivered at the Primary Visitation of the Bishop of London.* 1858.
2. *Dangers and Safeguards of Modern Theology.* Containing Suggestions to the Theological Student, and Discourses. 1861.
3. *A Charge at the Second Visitation.* 1862.
4. *A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of London.* 1866.
5. *The Present Position of the Church of England.* Primary Charge of the Archbishop of Canterbury. 1872.
6. *Some Thoughts on the Duties of the Established Church of England as a National Church.* Second Charge. 1876.
7. *The Church of the Future.* Third Charge. 1880.

ONE of the morning papers in its biographical notice of the late Primate of the Church of England, told the following curious anecdote. Dean Stanley, during repairs at Westminster Abbey, took the opportunity of investigating the Royal burial places. He found the remains of many sovereigns beneath their tombs, and those also of the ill-fated Queen of Scots, in the same vault as her enemy, Queen Elizabeth. But all search for the coffin of King James I. was for a long time baffled, until one day whilst the Ritual Commission was sitting in the Jerusalem Chamber adjoining, a message arrived from the master-mason that the sought-for object was found in the vault of King Henry VII. The excited Dean jumped up, and invit-

ing the other Commissioners to accompany him, hastened to the spot. As they all drew near, the Dean motioned them back. 'It is fitting,' he said, 'that our first Scottish Archbishop should lead the way into the tomb of our first Scottish King.' And the Archbishop accordingly entered first into the vault, and stood for a few minutes gazing silently and reverently upon the coffin plate.

It was certainly a remarkable coincidence, and as no one questions that the accession of the Scotchman to the English throne was a source of great strength to the monarchy, so it is universally acknowledged that the accession of Archibald Tait of Clackmannanshire to the Primacy of the Church of England has been a great means of strength to that Church. He has raised it to a height of influence greater than it had reached at least in this century—we might probably say since the Reformation; and, whilst he was respected by his own communion, his death has called forth a chorus of praise and affection from those outside it.

We do not propose in this article to give in detail the events of his life. The biographies which have appeared have done that more or less fully. Our object will rather be to endeavour to make some estimate of his theological position, and of the character of his influence on the Church of England.

He was born on the 21st of December, 1811, the youngest child of Craufurd Tait, and Susan, daughter of Sir Islay Campbell, Lord President of the Supreme Court. Archibald was born club-footed, and for a long time it seemed probable that he would remain a cripple for life. However, he was sent to a 'bone-setter,' as he called himself, 'a quack' as regular practitioners called him, residing in Cumberland; and we once heard the Archbishop, at a meeting of the British Medical Association, describe humourously this gentleman and his surroundings—'I was obliged to be taken to him early in the morning,' said he, 'for by mid-day he was too drunk to attend to any business whatever.' During this time he lodged not with his doctor, but at an inn, with a brother a little older as a companion. The quiet power of observation which characterised him was brought into play here. The child watched

the habits and amusements of the cronies who frequented the hostelry, and would often in after years tell some droll reminiscence to the great amusement of his friends. In fact we have often, as we have listened to him, compared him to Charles Dickens. So different as the careers of the two men were, they had this marked characteristic in common, remarkable power of silent observation and of memory as children. Scenes of years long past were fresh as scenes of yesterday, and flashed out into utterance when anything called them forth. And another remarkable similarity was the kindness stamped on these old recollections. The one child in the Fleet Prison, the other in the country inn among rough yokels, might have been expected to recoil from the recollection in later years; but it was not so. Dickens found matter for loving mention even behind the prison bars, and Tait always declared that he saw little that was bad, much that was kindly, among the village rustics. We remember how he chuckled again and again over the description of the village politicians in *Silas Marner*, and how he pronounced it so true to the life.

The treatment of the practitioner, quack or no quack, in whose hands he was thus placed, resulted in a perfect cure. He became remarkably graceful of limb and robust of health. At one time of his life he was a capital waltzer.

On his return home he found his father, who had inherited a handsome estate, in money difficulties. He had sunk a great sum in landscape gardening, and now had to retrench. It was not a bad training for the child, who was thus early taught the value of thrift and diligence. This teaching helped to make him a remarkably studious child, and whilst he was yet too delicate to be sent to school, he used to get the old nurse, Betty Morton, whom he mentions so lovingly in his memoir of his wife, to hear him say his declensions and conjugations out of the Latin Grammar, she of course not understanding a word of it. She used to keep the book close to her eyes and reward him with, 'Ay, ay, it maun be richt, for it's just word for word,' or check him with, 'Na, na, it's no that ava.'

But we have already somewhat departed from our intention by introducing these details of his personal life. We will

pass over his earlier days, and come to the young man's life at Oxford, which began in the early part of 1831. 'Well, Mr. Tait, what have you come to Oxford for?' said the Master of Balliol on his introduction to him. 'To improve myself and to make friends,' was the answer. In his early days he had been brought up as a Presbyterian. He had always a strong affection for the Scotch Catechism, though a Calvinist he certainly never was. The taunt which was sometimes levelled at him, that he changed his faith because he found it would answer his purpose, is absurd, if only for this reason, that he never in his own eyes changed his faith at all. We do not intend here to hoist the colours of any religious denomination against others, we only record facts. And a fact it undoubtedly was, that Tait regarded the two Churches as sister Churches, the differences of which were accidents, and the points of union vastly more important than those of separation. Many will agree and many disagree with such a view, but we may venture to say that this was the view which substantially he held during his life. He had come to live in England, and he found an Episcopal Church. He had never heard any prejudices expressed against it in his youthful days; he had been fond of attending Episcopal services in Edinburgh. And, therefore, there was no feeling to repel him from taking orders in the Church of England. It is no less true, that while he probably agreed with the opinions concerning Episcopacy and Presbyterianism which have been put forth by the Bishop of Durham, he came to the conclusion that Episcopacy was the preferable form of Church Government, and most in accordance with Apostolic principles. This was also indicated by his administering as a Bishop the rite of Confirmation to some members of his family who were far advanced in years.

He was himself prepared for Confirmation by the present Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Moberly, then his tutor at Balliol, who from his first entry to the College took a great liking to him, and introduced him to many friends, several of whom have become famous in the theological world. It was in Moberly's rooms, we believe, that he first met Henry Edward Manning, now Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. The tutor, indeed,

specially recommended them to cultivate each other for mutual edification. Two other life-long friends were also made here, in spite of the alien faith which they afterwards adopted, Mr. William G. Ward and Frederick Oakeley. 'I am much with you in your deep affliction,' Oakeley telegraphed to the Archbishop after Mrs. Tait died, and almost his last words were, 'Tell my dear friend, the Archbishop of Canterbury, as soon as I am gone.'

In 1833, Mr. Tait took his degree, obtaining a first class in Classics. He was a sound, rather than a brilliant scholar, we have heard it said. As a logician he is said to have had no contemporary superior. The year that he graduated saw the issue of the first of the *Tracts for the Times*. Of the great value of the early Tracts, the high character at which they taught Christian ministers to aim, and the improvement which was everywhere seen through their influence, Tait was fully conscious. His own idea of ministerial responsibility was as high as that of any man we ever met. It was shown not only in his Ordination addresses, but in his daily conversation. We heard the conversation once turn upon a well-known and deservedly admired clergyman who died a few years ago, and one of the speakers was launching out in his praise as one who despised clerical conventionalities, but who was most zealous in clerical duty. The Archbishop said, very seriously, 'He was a good man, but he was not at all after the scriptural idea of a minister as it commends itself to me. Honour him by all means, but do not imitate him, for *you* (emphatically and pointedly to the speaker) would be in danger of imitating his eccentricity and weakness, without imitating his energy and philanthropy.' And he went on to speak at some length, and with great solemnity of manner, upon the danger to the clergy of falling into secular habits of mind and speech; and we have thought, rightly or wrongly, that he owed this mode of thinking mainly to the early *Tracts for the Times*.

But in 1835 his tutor, Moberly, left Oxford to take the mastership of Winchester School, a post which he held till his old pupil was called upon to consecrate him Bishop. The

Tracts too became altered both in tone and matter. The most weighty and thoughtful of the first writers, Hugh Rose, broke down in health, and went abroad to die, being preceded to the grave by one who had exercised an influence on the Tracts as baneful as his own was good, Richard Hurrell Froude. The gradual alienation of Mr. Tait from them was owing, as we believe, to two causes; first, the removal of Moberly, who had certainly exercised much influence over him in what would be called a High Church direction; and secondly, his repugnance to a theological system which simply put everybody north of the Tweed almost out of the pale of Christianity. Many readers have been pained within the last few weeks to read in Bishop Wilberforce's *Life* some passages from his letters which appear to take the same view, and which have called forth the indignant protest of Dr. Donald Macleod. It must be confessed indeed that this harsh creed of the Tract writers became modified after some years had passed, and the dust of the conflict had partially cleared away. Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon*, written in 1866, though in theory it holds the doctrine of the Tracts on the necessity of Episcopacy, yet supplements it by other statements which take the sting out of it, and has commended itself to many who viewed the crude and bald teachings of Hurrell Froude with dislike.

That good doctor, with all his strict principles, held with firm fidelity, had such true charity within him that he would not have written such a passage as this, which is from the pen of Mr. W. Palmer:—

'I once more publicly profess myself a Catholic and a member of a Catholic Church, and say Anathema to the principle of Protestantism, (which I regard as identical with the principle of Dissent), and to all its forms, sects, and denominations, especially to those of the Lutherans and Calvinists, and British and American Dissenters. Likewise to all persons who, knowingly and willingly, and understanding what they do, shall assert either for themselves or for the Church of England the principle of Protestantism, or maintain the Church of England to have one and the same common religion with any or all of the various forms and sects of Protestantism, or shall communicate themselves in the temples of Protestants, or give communion to their members, or go about to establish any inter-communion between our Church and them, otherwise than by bringing

them, in the first instance, to renounce their errors, and promise a true obedience for the future to the entire faith and discipline of the Catholic and Apostolic Episcopate—to all such I say Anathema.'

Is it any wonder that when Mr. Tait read such words, cutting his nation off from communion with him in any form, he should regard the doctrine conveyed with deep and strong aversion, or that when this teaching was followed by the contention that, while Dissent in all forms was thus anathematised, union between Rome and the Church of England was possible as far as lay in the power and will of the latter, he should have spoken out.

The first edition of *Tract XC.* lies before us. It is dated 'Oxford; the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, 1841.' It probably appeared about the end of February. On the 8th of March appeared the following remarkable document, published the same day that it is dated:—

'To the Editor of the "*Tracts for the Times.*"'

SIR,—Our attention having been called to No. 90 in the series of "*Tracts for the Times* by Members of the University of Oxford," of which you are the editor, the impression produced on our minds by its contents is of so painful a character that we feel it our duty to intrude ourselves briefly on your notice. This publication is entitled "*Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-nine Articles,*" and as these Articles are appointed by the statutes of the University to be the text-book for tutors in their theological teaching, we hope that the situations we hold in our respective colleges will secure us from the charge of presumption in thus coming forward to address you.

'The Tract has in our apprehension, a highly dangerous tendency, from its suggesting that certain very important errors of the Church of Rome are not condemned by the Articles of the Church of England: for instance, that those Articles do not contain any condemnation of the doctrines—

- '1. Of Purgatory,
- '2. Of Pardons,
- '3. Of the Worshipping and Adoration of Images and Relics,
- '4. Of the Invocation of Saints,
- '5. Of the Mass,

as they are taught authoritatively by the Church of Rome; but only of certain absurd practices and opinions which intelligent Romanists repudiate as much as we do. It is intimated, moreover, that the Declaration prefixed to the Articles, so far as it has any weight at all, sanctions this mode of interpreting them, as it is one which takes them in their "literal and

grammatical sense," and does not "affix any new sense" to them. The Tract would thus appear to us to have a tendency to mitigate, beyond what charity requires, and to the prejudice of the pure truth of the Gospel, the very serious differences which separate the Church of Rome from our own, and to shake the confidence of the less learned members of the Church of England in the scriptural character of her formularies and teaching.

'We readily admit the necessity of allowing that liberty in interpreting the formularies of our Church which has been advocated by many of its most learned Bishops and other eminent divines; but this Tract puts forward new and startling views as to the extent to which that liberty may be carried. For if we are right in our apprehension of the author's meaning, we are at a loss to see what security would remain were his principles generally recognised, that the most plainly erroneous doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome might not be inculcated in the lecture-rooms of the University and from the pulpits of our churches.

'In conclusion, we venture to call your attention to the impropriety of such questions being treated in an anonymous publication, and to express an earnest hope that you may be authorised to make known the writer's name. Considering how very grave and solemn the whole subject is, we cannot help thinking that both the Church and the University are entitled to ask that some person besides the printer and publisher of the Tract should acknowledge himself responsible for its contents. We are, sir, your obedient and humble servants,

'T. T. CHURTON, M.A., Vice-Principal and Tutor of
Brasenose College.

'H. B. WILSON, B.D., Fellow and Senior Tutor of St.
John's College.

'JOHN GRIFFITHS, M.A., Sub-Warden and Tutor of
Wadham College.

'A. C. TAIT, M.A., Fellow and Senior Tutor of Balliol
College.

'Oxford, March 8, 1841.'

While holding to our purpose of abstaining from controversy ourselves, we will venture to ask any fair-minded judge, whatever his opinions may be, whether this is not a calm and moderate document, and whether it is a justification for the taunt which was so persistently repeated all through the Archbishop's lifetime, that it 'drove Newman out of Oxford.' The author of the charge indeed was really Dr. Newman himself, though in his *Apologia* he studiously avoids mentioning the names of the four tutors or their protest. But as nearly all the contemporary literature on the subject is before us, it is

worth a little dwelling upon. That Newman himself was in a most restless state of mind, and had been so for many years is patent enough. His brother once told the writer of the present article that in 1827 he was eagerly arguing in favour of the Invocation of Angels. He himself tells us that in 1811 he drew a picture of a cross with a rosary in his first Verse Book.* He has successfully vindicated himself from the charge of dishonesty, but he has done it by shewing that he was never certain of himself or of his own ground, and that he was irresistibly led on into a Communion which thought and settled opinions for him, then he was at peace, and has never since had one doubt. 'For years,' he says, 'I must have had something of an habitual notion, though it was latent, and had never led me to distrust my own convictions, that my mind had not found its ultimate rest, and that in some sense or other I was on journey.' And he adduces 'Lead, kindly light,' and other documents in proof of this.† Kingsley heedlessly called him 'a conscious Romanist,' and suffered terribly at his hands for his temerity. But it is certainly the fact that he had long looked towards Rome with growing admiration, and that in October, 1840, he conveyed to a friend his impression that secession to Rome was the legitimate consequence of his own teaching.‡ The four tutors, then, were only expressing what he had said himself. But let us follow the order of events. On the publication of the protest, Mr. Newman immediately began a letter to Dr. Jelf in vindication of his position, and sent to the Hebdomadal Board to ask them to stay the condemnation which it was understood they intended to pronounce, until they should have this letter in their hands. It is dated 'Saturday, March 13th,' but before it could be set into type the Hebdomadal Board had passed a Censure, which ended with the following words, 'Resolved, that modes of interpretation such as are suggested in the said Tract, evading rather than explaining the sense of the Thirty-nine Articles, and reconciling subscription to them with the adoption of errors which

* *Apologia*, p. 57. † *Ib.*, p. 214. ‡ *Ib.*, p. 237.

they were designed to counteract, defeat the object, and are inconsistent with the due observance of the above-mentioned statutes.' With the subsequent history of Mr. Newman we have no concern here, but an extract from his letter to Jelf will not be out of place.

'Four gentlemen, tutors of their respective Colleges, have published a protest against the Tract in question. I have no cause at all to complain of their so doing, though as I shall directly say, I consider that they have misunderstood me. They do not, I trust, suppose that I feel any offence or soreness at this proceeding; of course I naturally think that I am right and they are wrong; but this persuasion is quite consistent both with my honouring their zeal for Christian truth and their anxiety for the welfare of our younger members, and with my very great consciousness that, even though I be right in my principle, I may have advocated truth in a wrong way. Such acts as theirs when done honestly, as they have done them, must benefit all parties, and draw them nearer to each other in good will if not in opinion. . . . These four gentlemen have misunderstood me in so material a point, that it certainly is necessary to enter into the subject at some length. They consider that the Tract asserts that the Thirty-nine Articles "do not contain any condemnation of the Doctrine of Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration of Images and Relics, the Invocation of Saints, and Mass as they are *taught authoritatively* by the Church of Rome, but only of certain absurd practices and opinions, which intelligent Romanists repudiate as much as we do." On the contrary, I consider that they *do* contain a condemnation of the authoritative teaching of the Church of Rome on these points; I only say that, whereas they were written before the decrees of Trent, they were not directed against those decrees. The Church of Rome taught authoritatively before those decrees, as well as since. Those decrees *expressed* her authoritative teaching, and they will continue to express it, while she so teacher. The simple question is, whether taken by themselves in the mere letter, they express it; whether in fact other senses, short of the sense conveyed in the present authoritative teaching of the Roman Church, will not fulfil their letter, and may not even now in point of fact be held in that Church. As to the present authoritative teaching of the Church of Rome, to judge by what we see of it in public, I think it goes very far indeed to substitute another gospel for the true one. Instead of setting before the soul the Holy Trinity and heaven and hell, it does seem to me as a popular system, to preach the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, and Purgatory. If there ever was a system which required reformation, it is that of Rome at this day, or in other words (as I should call it) Romanism or Popery."

Very good, but Mr. Newman himself was very soon persuaded

that his objections to Rome as a popular system were groundless, and he joined it in the conviction that it was 'the only fold of Christ.'

Once more Dr. Tait (he took his doctor's degree in 1842 on being appointed Head Master of Rugby), appeared as a controversialist; the case was a less serious one, for though the issues were of great importance, there were features in it which were almost comic. Mr. Ward, one of his old colleagues at Balliol, published a book, *The Ideal of a Christian Church Considered in Comparison with Existing Practice*. In that book he claimed the right to 'hold all Roman Doctrine,' declared that the Reformation was no better than the Arianism of the Fourth Century, and that the Church ought at once to cast herself at the feet of Rome, confess her great sin in deserting it, and sue humbly for pardon and restoration. A tremendous clamour was raised, the matter was brought before Convocation at Oxford, hundreds of members of the University came up to vote on the question, among them the Master of Rugby. There is a very vivid account of the scene in a book which made a great sensation at the time, but is now almost forgotten, *From Oxford to Rome*, (p. 140.) Two proposals were made; the first to censure the book, the second to take away Mr. Ward's degree. The first was carried by 717 to 368, the second by 569 to 511. Dr. Tait was in the majority in the first division, in the minority in the second. But the real fact was that Ward 'cared not a boddle.' He and Dr. Tait actually walked down to the Senate House together, and Ward was enjoying the fun of making a fight, when he was already on the very point of giving up his fellowship because he was going to be married out of hand. It has often been noticed that Dr. Newman makes no mention at all of Mr. Ward in his *Apologia*, though Mr. Kingsley referred to Ward's book as part of his indictment against him. Some stinging words in Ward's book concerning Mr. Newman are said to account for this (p. 68.)

Dr. Tait's Rugby life will not detain us. We merely note that he married not long after his appointment, and that he nearly died of rheumatic fever, and his health was always deli-

cate from that time. In 1849 he was appointed Dean of Carlisle, after Arthur Stanley had declined the post. His life here, as always heretofore, was busy and hardworking, but not controversial. He became an indefatigable parish priest. In his memoir of his wife he speaks of *her* work among the poor; records lie within our reach of his own. But he certainly never liked Carlisle as a residence, and it became to them, as the Memoir states, 'almost like a city of destruction,' when five children died in as many weeks, leaving them two only, the only son, and a daughter of a few weeks old. During his occupation of the Deanery his interest in Oxford did not flag, for he was one of the most indefatigable members of the University Commission.

His appointment to the Bishopric of London, in the summer of 1856, was not, as has been stated, the work of the Queen, forcing him on Lord Palmerston. The Prime Minister recommended him to Her Majesty in the usual way; and now his active public life began. We will not dwell on his indefatigable labours among and on behalf of the multitudes of London,—his visits to the cholera districts in 1866, when he and his noble wife carried off the children of the dead, and established them in an orphanage, which under her loving hand became a permanent institution, in memory of the children whom God had taken from her; nor on his exertions on behalf of the 'Bishop of London's Fund' for establishing a pastorate among the hitherto neglected thousands. We pass once more to his theological position, which is one not very difficult to define, as we survey his long Episcopate. The one name above all others which his opponents have been ready to call him is 'Erastian,' and with much respect to a great many of these opponents we venture fearlessly to assert that they had the vaguest idea of the meaning of the word. Indeed, we will make bold to offer them a little information on the subject out of *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, by way of offering an opportunity of testing the question. 'Erastus then, physician of Baden, who lived from 1524 to 1581, and who attained some eminence in his profession, has succeeded in perpetuating his name by means of a theological work *Explicatio Quæstionis Gravissimæ*

Excommunicationis. He denied the right of the Church to excommunicate, exclude, absolve, censure—in fact, to exercise discipline. Denying “the power of the keys,” he compared a pastor to the professor of any science, who can merely instruct his students; he held that the ordinances of the gospel should be open free to all, and that penalties being both in their nature and effect *civil* and not *spiritual*, ought to be inflicted only by the chief magistrate. Erastus followed no sect, neither did he wish to do so. His desire was, in fact, of an exactly contrary character—viz., to preserve an external harmony at the expense even of the visible Church. He would have let the wheat and tares grow together until the end of the world.

. . . . The term Erastian has long been a favourite epithet of reproach in Scotland, but has not been employed with any great precision. All persons who deny the power of an Established Church to alter our laws without the consent of the State—as, for example, the law of Patronage—are generally accused of *Erastianism*, although the principles of Erastus have literally nothing to do with such a question.’

This is an instructive passage, and it would require a somewhat elaborate essay to try the opinions of Archbishop Tait by the principles involved in it. This at all events was certainly true that he had a strong conviction of the almost omnipotence of public opinion. If you asked him what should be the attitude of the Church if public opinion should change, he would probably reply impatiently, ‘Never mind what might be. *Hoc est.* You have enough to do with what is.’ Nothing was so sure to irritate him and provoke a tart answer as the starting of abstract theories and possibilities. Public opinion then he held to be true to the teachings of the Book of Common Prayer, and to the principles of the Reformation. It was a point which he many times dwelt on to the candidates for ordination, as a proof that the Reformation held its own in England, that no English constituency returned a Roman Catholic member. There is no question that it was this feature of his character which made him so popular with the English laity. He sympathised with the average popular view on re-

ligious subjects, which is a different thing from being ruled by it or yielding to it grudgingly.

Herein lay both the strength and weakness of his position. The laity not only regarded him as the defender of their views against all comers, but they entertained a deep veneration for his personal piety, which they regarded as the best confirmation of these views. No prelate has been so popular with the lay mind during this century.

But with the clergy it has been otherwise. It is true that their respect and love for him have both increased during the last few years of his life, and this has been the case even among the Ritualist clergy. Proofs of this lie before us of remarkable force. But it was not always thus, and down to the last some of those who loved him best disliked his policy heartily. Five-sixths at least of the English Clergy at the present day, it may be safely asserted, are 'High Church,' ranging from moderate to extreme, the latter no doubt are in a great minority, but the moderates whilst they reprove, support them. They feel, whether rightly or wrongly, that extreme views respecting the authority of the Church are better than none at all. The Archbishop's legislation in their eyes tended to throw the Church under the absolute control of the secular power, and therefore they have sided with those men who resisted it. And the recognition of this fact was instrumental in changing the lines of the Archbishop's policy. But of this more hereafter.

His first charge as Bishop of London was delivered in 1858, and it was in more ways than one a very remarkable performance. We were present, and shall not soon forget the scene, though an air almost grotesque was communicated to the opening of it. The long line of white-robed choristers and clergy filed out of the side chapel and marched to the western doors, closed up by the tall stately white-haired Henry Melvill, and the figure of Dean Milman bent almost double, but with wonderfully handsome face. They turned round as the Bishop approached, whilst the organ pealed forth a stirring march, and the great crowd which overflowed the dome and nave and aisles all rose to see the procession return. Back they came

in due order, and the last figure was the Bishop—in large riding boots, hat in one hand, riding whip in the other. Something like a laugh went round at the incongruous nature of the sight. But when he was duly robed and the charge had begun, it was confessed on all hands that the Bishop was a man of unmistakeable power. His voice was distinctly audible to every man in the church, as with apparently perfect ease and without effort he spoke uninterruptedly for five hours and three quarters,—as far as we remember, without pausing even to drink a glass of water. That charge was in great part a review of the condition of the diocese and of the various religious works which were going on within it, but the controversial portion was strong and decided; it was called forth not by questions of vestments or incense, but by a dispute which had arisen simultaneously in a West-end and an East-end parish about Confession. The Bishop's contention took exactly the line which might have been anticipated. He set aside the questions concerning good or evil in the abstract, and took his stand on the intentions of the Reformers, bringing forward an elaborate series of facts and quotations to show that they deliberately rejected the practice.

But the Bishop had not appreciated the strength of the views held in opposition. The conviction had become widely spread that the Reformers had not settled the question, that they were not infallible, and that there was no necessary finality in the decrees of the Sixteenth Century. Hundreds of the clergy looking round upon the practical heathenism of the masses of population, had been filled with misgivings that the Church had not put forth all her resources, that there had been neglect and sloth and selfishness, and that other means ought to be taken with a view to evangelising the nation. They cried aloud for more earnestness and self-denial among the clergy; for more attractiveness and painstaking in public worship; for more general intercourse between the shepherds and their flock. 'What would you do, my lord, to a poor sinner who came to you heavily burdened with a sense of guilt?' said a clergyman who had been called to account by a northern Bishop for hearing confessions. 'I would make him sit down, and read to

him the *Comfortable Words* from the Communion Service,' replied the Bishop. 'You might as well sprinkle a man with rose water who had got the cholera,' was the blunt comment.

Here then was the beginning of a serious divergence of opinion. The Bishop did not believe in the strength of the Church movement. The Ritual, in his opinion, was the new-fangled nonsense of a lot of shop-boys and dandy clericals, the Confessional a revival of Popery. Dr. Pusey and his friends of the older generation, and the young clergy who had grown up under the shadow of the High Church revival rejected that view, and as years went on their strength knew no diminution. Many circumstances combined to preserve that strength. First and foremost was the belief which they entertained, that morality was improving under the new movement. Not only were the Churches better filled, but parochial annals grew less foul and more sweet. Then the increased attacks on the Church from without drew them closer to each other. And the improvement in an æsthetic direction had an attraction for young people. But then, moreover, the old fashioned evangelicalism broke down hopelessly. The one cardinal doctrine which had held it together was the infallibility of the Scriptures. So long as they had that to fall back upon, they could make a good fight. But when they were met with the argument that this infallibility would not stand the test of free enquiry, that there were errors of chronology, of science, of fact, in these Scriptures, they were left in as hopeless a plight as Micah after the visit of the Danites. 'I can get on with the Ritualists, but not with the Low Churchmen a bit,' said the most celebrated living master of science to the present writer.

The Bishop himself saw the rocks ahead. The publication of the *Essays and Reviews* in 1860 made a tremendous commotion in the country, and for a little while it looked as if the two opposing parties, 'High' and 'Low,' would be united by making common cause against the 'free handling' of the Bible. Bishop Wilberforce in his famous article in the *Quarterly* appealed to them both to do so, and then in our opinion Bishop Tait came out particularly well. Though he was as far as ever from appreciating the better side of the Ritualistic movement, and

looked upon it as mere outside garnish with no substance underneath, he was not prepared to join the cry raised by the other side that the Essayists were infidels, and fighting against God. Though he stood almost alone amongst the Bishops, he remained calm, had overwhelming majorities against him, but did not flinch from still appealing for justice and moderation. There was no sympathy with scepticism in him; this was clearly seen in the book which he published in the very heat of the conflict, *Dangers and Safeguards of Modern Theology*. This book consists of three parts: first, an introduction in which he states his own sentiments; secondly, a republication of some 'Suggestions offered to the Theological Student under Present Difficulties,' originally published in 1846; and thirdly, new matter, mostly sermons, on the stirring question of the day. The opening words claim quotation at our hands for more reasons than one:—

The first part of this book is a reprint of what was published fifteen years ago. The world has seen many changes since then; but the Church of England has gone on very steadily in the course which those who carefully observed the current of opinion had then predicted. It may seem unlikely, in these changing days, that what was written for 1846 can be suitable for 1861. Most men change or greatly modify their opinions and sentiments in fifteen years. The rude test of experiment is continually making shipwreck of many skilfully-constructed theories; and even he whose views of religion and society are from the bent of his mind most practical, continually finds, as life goes on, that there is something unreal in his opinions which requires, if not to be given up, at least to be carefully revised and altered. The trials of life greatly affect our mental vision: rightly used, they make us more sympathising, more considerate, more tolerant; but they also more deeply convince us of the priceless value of truths which have been our soul's only stay in terrible emergencies. Few mortals pass any great length of time without sickness and sorrow; and if a man has looked death in the face, or, while well in his own bodily health, has been stunned in mind by seeing fond hopes vanish, he will naturally cling with a firmer tenacity to the great religious truths which bore him up when all else failed, and will be more jealous of any attempts to tamper with these truths than he was when he defended them in earlier life on grounds of mere speculative orthodoxy, having not yet learned to prize and love them through—what must be to each practically the surest test—their tried value to his own spirit. Thus our very passage through life imperceptibly modifies our views of religious truth. Moreover, we have not

only our own experience, but what we see of the experience of others to influence us. The many changes also which time brings in our position and responsibilities—the enlargement of our knowledge, or of the sphere of observation within which we are to form our judgment of the influences of religious truth—all these, imperceptibly it may be, but surely, affect our convictions.

It would not, therefore, have been surprising if the author of the following Discourse had found in 1861 that he could neither himself altogether endorse what he had written fifteen years ago, nor, if it did still retain its hold on his convictions, look upon it as applicable to the circumstances of a greatly changed age. He has not, however, met with this difficulty. Reperusing what he then put forth, he finds it to be as true an exponent as ever of his real sentiments; and he thinks, that by God's blessing, the statements he long ago deliberately published may tend to quiet men's hearts even now. Hearing of new disputes and new fears, he feels that he has reason to thank God that his own mind, after some serious consideration, was settled on the points at issue now many years ago; and he humbly trusts he may do some service to others to whom those questions are new with which it so chances that he has been long familiar.

Now it will be seen by this eloquent passage that Dr. Tait had been confirmed in his early opinions by the most mighty of all forces. He had 'been stunned in mind by seeing fond hopes vanish.' Nearly all his children had been taken away with a stroke, and he had himself looked death in the face. 'I was not expected to live half-an-hour,' he tells us of his illness at Rugby, in the Memoir of his wife. Those critics who somewhat harshly taunted him with having learned nothing 'all through the years of his middle life,' could hardly have realised what reason he had to cling to his convictions and to love them, seeing how they had been tried, and how they had borne the strain.

One more quotation we will make from the same Introduction:—

'Men need to be told now as much as ever they did that the truths of a living Christian faith cannot be made to find their way into reluctant minds through mere protest and negation, far less by the mere attempt to inflict pains and penalties on those who are in error. To warn us against what is not true is very different from giving us the truth. The Holy Spirit of God can indeed alone mould the convictions, but the human advocate of truth will not do his part in upholding it, unless he tries to clothe it in the living form of an embodied and intelligible teaching, capable of warming

the sympathies and attracting the affection at the same time that it appeals, as the case may be, either to the understanding or the highest reason.

'Again, men still need to be reminded that one of the most marked features of the Church of England is its comprehensive spirit. It upholds, indeed, the great Gospel doctrines in their simple majesty, and clings to them as for life, but it is tolerant of very great liberty of opinion in the mode in which these doctrines are viewed or studied. It is this which fits it to be a National Church, and prevents it from being a sect. Our Church makes room within its system for the simplest expression of uninstructed pious sentiment, as well as for the acute speculations of a refined or even subtle intellect. Embracing in its formularies at once the old simple outpourings of primitive or medieval faith, and strictly defined statements on the controversies of the Reformation, while it brings everything to the test of that Scripture which God caused to be written that it might instruct men of all countries, all ages, and all shades of character, the Church of England is thus Catholic in the best sense. It holds forth to the world a Christianity which is neither all feeling, or imagination, or taste, nor all doctrine systematised by the intellect, nor all moral precept, nor even all earnest faith and love, but which is all these united—each subordinated to the great purpose which God has assigned it—the inferior elements employed as the handmaids of the higher, that they may all work together for the regeneration of the world into the highest condition of humanity, after the likeness of the Lord Jesus Christ. To unite a wise and charitable view of our Church's doctrines with a zealous appreciation of that distinctive heavenly truth which is the sacred deposit it has received from the Apostles—this is the great problem for an inquisitive yet religious age.'

We cannot help thinking that the Archbishop was afterwards deceived into endangering the noble principles here laid down, when he yielded to a panic and passed the Public Worship Regulation Act. But of that more presently. As it was, his appeal here for toleration for the 'Broad' School was not without good effect. The learning of some of those most furiously attacked was as undeniable as their personal integrity and self-denial were conspicuous, and the High Church party compromised themselves far too much by their panic then. Bishop Gray of Cape Town was as well-meaning as he was narrow of mind. His 'judgment' of Bishop Colenso was delivered under new and most trying circumstances; he had no precedent to help him, and therefore all allowance ought to be made for him. But his judgment could never have stood the test of any English Court; he pronounced without shadow of misgiving on the most abstruse theological points; and his

judgment, if it had been applied all round, would have condemned of heresy everybody who has ever put forth any theological treatise. It was short-sighted, therefore, of English divines to make an Athanasius of him, and much harm in the long run resulted. The poor Bishop found himself deserted when he hoped to have support; as he already had sympathy. The present writer has seen two letters of Bishop Wilberforce to Archbishop Longley, one speaking very severely of the Bishop of Cape Town's overbearing; the other chuckling at having 'placified' him, though *pacifying*, he thought, was out of any man's reach. But the Bishop can hardly be held blameless of having set his poor brother on.

But though Bishop Tait stood up as the defender of the Broad Church divines, he cannot be classed with them as represented by the Essayists, or even by Mr. Maurice. The treatment of such subjects as the Atonement, the Lake of Fire, the Inspiration of the Scriptures, in this volume, is such as would be entirely approved by persons who style themselves 'strict orthodox.' And thus while in a time of feverish excitement he threw his shield over those who were so unsparingly denounced, he addressed himself to them in earnest language an appeal to beware lest they unsettled where they sought to make more sure. He took just the same line next year in his second charge.

All this part of his career has been justified by subsequent events. It is not merely that one of the seven writers whom it became the fashion with the clergy to call the *Septem contra Christum* is a deservedly respected Bishop, but there is a much sounder feeling concerning Biblical criticism; less assertion of verbal inspiration, whatever that means, and more study and deeper reverence.

We turn to another passage of the Bishop's life in which he by no means shows to such advantage, namely, his conduct with reference to the St. George's Riots. The whole history is painful and distressing to recall. It has become almost forgotten by the younger generation, and we will be as brief over it as we can. The Rector of St. George's-in-the-East had succeeded one who had altogether neglected the parish, and found

in consequence an empty church and a heathen neighbourhood. He worked on drearily and hopelessly for many years, until in 1859 fresh assistants came to his help in the persons of half-a-dozen clergy, who established a 'Mission.' They visited the slums daily; set schools on foot for the poor; and boldly attacked the vice which was destroying the people like a plague. In the four streets which enclose St. George's Church they found that there were 733 houses, of which 40 were public-houses, and 154 brothels. From the proprietors of these the opposition began, the Protestant cry was raised, and the parishioners, inflamed by these malcontents, having at that moment the right of appointing to a vacant lectureship in the Church, appointed a man whose only recommendation was that he was a violent Puritan, who had spent much energy in abusing the Rector. The Rector appealed to the Bishop, who decided in favour of the appointment. So the lecturer used to hold his service at three in the afternoon, and a mob thereupon took advantage to enter the church, seize possession of the choir-stalls, and hold them against the Rector's service at four. The appearance of the Rector and his choir-boys was received with howls and cat-calls, and discharges from pea-shooters; and this followed Sunday after Sunday. The Bishop was appealed to, and pronounced that it was all the Rector's fault for introducing novelties,—the novelties being, first, the 'Vestment,' which has since become so famous in Ritual controversy, and which at the present moment stands condemned as illegal, but at that time had been pronounced lawful by the Westerton judgment, and had been adopted by the Rector on the strength of that; and secondly, the surpliced choir, choral service, and turning eastwards at the *Gloria Patri*. All and each the Bishop by monitions ordered to be abandoned. The present Lord Chief Justice, then Mr. J. D. Coleridge, and some other eminent lawyers being consulted, declared the monitions 'not worth the paper they were written upon.' The Rector broke down in health and went away, and still the riots continued. The present writer was present twice during that time. On the first occasion sixty policemen were present to preserve order. The service was an ordinary service such as is now the rule in

almost every town parish in England, choral but perfectly simple, the vestments having been abandoned. However, the voices of the clergy were drowned in the coughing and stamping of feet. The next time was just after the abandonment of the surpliced choir. The mob were still in force, but could find nothing to howl at, all was so sleepy and humdrum,—until the Hymn was given out:

‘When I survey the wondrous Cross.’

The moment the last word was uttered a storm of hisses arose,—they had got their opportunity at last. Surely no more evidence is needed to show that the riot was the offspring of allied ignorance and brutality. The Bishop, it is clear, mistook the opposition for genuine love of the Reformation, whereas it was the clamour of a set of blackguards who found their gains were going. He thought the other side an exhibition of foppery and folly, and it must be confessed there was a dilettante element among the partisans of that side. But the time came when he learned that among those clergy who were thus bullied and persecuted even to the endangering of their lives, were some of the most self-denying and sensible in his diocese, and he did them justice. There is still plenty of room for improvement there, in good truth, but a wonderful improvement began from the sight of the meekness and patience of those ministers who thus endured reproach.

Let not the truth, however, be lost sight of, that the episcopate of Dr. Tait means something very different from his being engaged in a few contests. His main work was silent and made little noise, but it was very magnificent work and full of benefits to the population of London. We need only mention the Bishop of London’s Fund, the establishment of the Diocesan Home Mission, the beginning of the services for the people under the dome of St. Paul’s, the Cholera Orphanage. In 1868 Archbishop Longley died, and Dr. Tait succeeded him as Primate of all England. Again his high gifts were brought into play; the organization of the diocese, the careful personal examination into details, the large practical wisdom displayed in his primary charge on such subjects as Cathedral Reform, Ecclesi-

astical Judicature, and Missionary work, all bespoke the man naturally born to govern. Govern he did, and that with a strong hand. But again we enter on a field of battle, the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874. The event and its results are too recent to enable us to judge of the wisdom or unwisdom of that Act. Indeed its history is very imperfectly known as yet. But these points ought not to be forgotten. There was a loud clamour on the part of the laity to restrain Ritualistic excesses, so great that when *Punch* again and again quizzed the two Archbishops for doing nothing, everybody enjoyed the fun and said that it served them right. Some of the clergy were playing the oddest possible pranks, one invited his flock on Ash-Wednesday to kneel before him one by one and have their faces smeared with ashes. In the face of all this a Ritual Commission was appointed as far back as 1868, and passed a unanimous report that the excesses ought to be *restrained*. We know now that this word was the insertion of Bishop Wilberforce in place of the word 'abolished,' which had been proposed. But in spite of this report and of many subsequent meetings of the Commission, no practical result was arrived at,—the Ritualists went on without check, and people in general grumbled. But it does not follow of necessity that the grumblers were right. Such a case is conceivable as that the clergy should see that the method hitherto in vogue has failed, that the people neglected the means of grace, and needed to be sought out in another fashion. This at any rate was the conviction of many of the clergy, whether they were mistaken or not. Men like Mr. Lowder of St. George's-in-the-East thought that appeals to the eye ought to be made as well as to the ear, and thus resolved to try to attract by religious processions and gorgeous services. This was the way that the Ritualists argued. We heard the debates in Convocation. 'Let us alone, and common sense in the long run will restrain folly' was the line they took there.

Under these circumstances the Archbishop brought in his Bill in 1874. It was a comparatively mild weapon as first drawn up, but through the exertions of Lord Shaftesbury

became a more searching measure. By its provisions as it finally became a law, a man might be prosecuted by three 'aggrieved parishioners,' who must declare themselves *bonâ fide* members of the Church. The Bishop appealed to was to ask of both sides whether they would accept his judgment in the matter. If they would, well; if not he was to judge whether to send the case for trial. In the latter alternative, if the accused party should be ordered to abandon any given practice and should refuse to obey, he was to become *ipso facto* deprived of his benefice after three years, and also incapable of holding another living in the same diocese. When the Act first became law little outcry was made against it. The chief Ritualistic newspaper declared that there was little to object to, if the Act was fairly administered. But unhappily things went wrong almost immediately. An Association was formed for the purpose of setting prosecutions on foot, and in some cases its emissaries had hard trouble to find three aggrieved ones, and in those cases could only succeed in getting persons of worthless character. Such proceedings were never contemplated by the Archbishop, and unfortunately he had not foreseen them. Then the evident bias of the judge was a further source of irritation. It was not unnatural that clergymen who had been working harmoniously with their parishioners, and against whom no complaint had hitherto been made by those to whom they ministered, should be dragged before the court at the instance of this Association, which had no concern with them, and which they had never molested. Such a perversion of the intention of the Act was monstrous injustice. If a clergyman should attempt to force these novelties on an unwilling congregation, it was plainly a case for the Act to deal with. But as a matter of fact not one such case appeared in evidence. Every prosecution, and it is only fair to say there have been really very few, has been of incumbents in towns, in most cases where the congregations themselves have built the church.

Consequently as the character of the prosecutions revealed themselves more clearly, a fierce opposition arose among the clergy thus attacked. They refused any longer to plead, or to recognise a court where they received, as they believed, no jus-

tice. They appealed to the voice of the Church to declare whether room might not be made within its bosom for more methods than one, in the endeavour to carry the Gospel through the land. It was not that they were lawless in their own eyes, but they desired a court which should take cognisance of the wants of the Church. The Association, however, blinded with rancour at being discredited, would hear of no such truce, and they dragged several of the offenders off to prison. There one of them lay for fifteen months, and there was no other charge against him.

This completely discredited the Association in the eyes of the nation. It is very remarkable to notice how greatly such obvious sincerity and zeal have moved those who otherwise would have looked on with carelessness or aversion. They felt that these men, wise or unwise, were ready to sacrifice anything rather than give up the methods they had found useful for evangelising the people committed to them. The Archbishop himself evidently felt that. He looked with disgust upon the mad folly of their imprisonments, and to this must no doubt be attributed his now famous letter from his death-bed to Mr. Mackonochie. He had always a warm regard for that gentleman, for his zeal on behalf of the poor people to whom for so many years he laboured so patiently and so well. But it is the wildest of all mistakes to suppose that he changed his own opinions as to the desirability of High Ritual. We hear that one ritualistic clergyman has preached a sermon on the Archbishop's 'death-bed repentance,' hoping that it was effectual, but hinting that such repentances are of doubtful validity. And we are very glad to find that the chief paper of the party has treated the sermon with the contempt it deserves. It was no death-bed weakness which moved the departing Primate. 'How to get Green out of prison,' 'How to keep Mackonochie,' were questions which had certainly been in his mind for many months; and no man knew how anxiously he had revolved them in his mind, and laid them before God. We believe it will be acknowledged when the facts are all before the world, that the scheme which he had carefully elaborated for the reconstruction of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and for the due protection of congregations on both

sides, was a most statesmanlike measure, full of wisdom, thoughtfulness, and Christian charity. He said publicly the same year that the Act was passed, 'This is no time for Christians to tear each other to pieces over a vestment or a candlestick, when the question with many has come to be whether Christendom has a living Christ.' It was not by his intention, but by his oversight that such tearing in pieces went on. There was only one case in his own diocese, that of Mr. Ridsdale at Folkestone, and this was regarded by both sides as a test case, and was carefully pleaded out. It was the first that occurred under the Act. By the good feeling on both sides this ended happily, and we believe that even the chief prosecutor in that case became one of Mr. Ridsdale's friends. There were some half-a-dozen more attempts at prosecution in the Canterbury diocese, but the Archbishop put his foot upon every one. It is not too late to repair the mischief which has been done elsewhere, and this will be effected, not by giving impunity to every foolish man who tries on any foppery that occurs to him, but by giving the clergy some power of learning what the needs of the congregations in the Nineteenth Century are, and giving liberty to meet them.

The discussion of this question, so serious because of its immediate effect on the peace of the Church, has left us but little room for another question, far more serious in reality, and to which the Archbishop's mind was eagerly turned. We mean the conflict with unbelief. Nearly all his later sermons were directed to this question, proving how deeply he felt that the real test of the Church's efficiency would be found here. His third charge as Archbishop was the most masterly he ever delivered, written with the consciousness that his time of departure was at hand. The title page will indicate its subject-matter:—*'The Church of the Future, (1) its Catholicity; (2) its Conflict with the Atheist; (3) its Conflict with the Deist; (4) its Conflict with the Rationalist; (5) its Dogmatic Teaching; (6) Practical Counsels for its Work; (7) its Cathedrals; (8) Appendices.'*

His last published work was an article in *Macmillan's Magazine* of October last year, being some thoughts suggested by Mr. Mozley's recent *Reminiscences of Oriel College and the Oxford*

Movement. The position there taken by the Archbishop is a reiteration of the view which he always held in exact antagonism to that of Cardinal Newman, namely, that the Oxford Movement, along with the benefits which it wrought, contained elements of reactionism and superstition which led in the long run to the prevalence of scepticism. Newman holds that his principles were the only principles by which liberalism could have been avoided. This also is a question which is beyond our power here to discuss. But we venture to call attention to what we believe is a fact, that one of the writers selected by Mr. Newman to contribute to the *Lives of the Saints*, a collection of legends edited by him, which very few certainly who read it will acquit of superstition, afterwards threw up his orders and wrote the *Nemesis of Faith*. The Archbishop held that if Arnold had lived he would have made a great mark at Oxford, and a healthy religious feeling would have sprung up.

The future of the Church remains to be seen. We believe that the Archbishop saw truly that the question at stake is not that of vestments or the constitution of courts, but belief or unbelief. Those who hold fast the doctrine of the Creed are drawing closer together; the churches of England and Scotland are in closer accord. The Gallican Church pressed by the Materialistic doctrines of the prevalent Philosophism of Paris, is not, we believe, falling back into Ultramontaniam. We were at St. Eustache last May and heard a sermon which was something very like a protest against Mariolatry. Belief in the living and ruling Christ on the one side, Universal Negation on the other,—two parties and no more,—this is what things are drifting to. So Archbishop Tait believed, and because he laboured to unite the faithful everywhere in the bonds of Christian love, we are confident that his work will yet bear more fruit. For the chorus of grateful regard which all Christians have sung over his grave is a recognition that there is a unity among Christians deeper than discord. Meanwhile the criticisms and freehandling for toleration of which he pleaded have done good work too. The spirit of enquiry and examination, as well as the spirit of self-denial and reverence for holy things, cannot be otherwise than good. They are angels of God

which many a good man takes in the darkness for enemies. If instead of crying them down or fleeing from them in cowardice, we wrestle manfully with them, refusing to let them go until they shall show us light and truth to walk in, then the angels will bless us when the day breaketh. And if the Church of **England** shall go on to carry out the principles which Archbishop Tait so manfully contended for, of loving-kindness, and wide charity, and missionary zeal all over the world, then like its divine Founder, it will still grow in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man.

ART. II.—THEOLOGY IN SCOTLAND.

1. *Reason and Revelation.* By R. S. CANDLISH, D.D.
2. *The Fatherhood of God.* By Rev. Professor T. J. CRAWFORD, D.D.
3. *The Atonement.* By Rev. Professor T. J. CRAWFORD, D.D.
4. *The Life of Our Lord*, 6 vols. By Rev. W. HANNA, D.D., LL.D.
5. *Sermons.* By Rev. Professor JOHN KER, D.D. Tenth Edition.
6. *Theism.* By Rev. Professor R. FLINT, D.D., LL.D.
7. *Anti-Theistic Theories.* By Rev. Professor R. FLINT, D.D., LL.D.
8. *Unbelief in the Eighteenth Century.* By Rev. Principal CAIRNS, D.D.
9. *The Humiliation of Christ.* By Rev. Professor A. B. BRUCE, D.D.
10. *The Bible Doctrine of Man.* By Rev. Professor JOHN LAIDLAW, D.D.

‘**A** *UDI alteram partem.*’ Besides the account of Theological Progress, painted in glowing colours in last number, there remains much of different import to be said towards a

complete understanding of Scotch Theology. There is here no intention to suggest that the previous article drew upon mere fancy, describing things having no existence. Our complaint is that the things depicted were out of proportion, by failure to assign a proper place to facts at least as conspicuous. Alongside the list of books given at the head of the former article, we here place another, sufficient to indicate the difference to which reference is now to be made. The list here given draws partly on the roll of authors recently removed from us, as well as on the roll of the living, and this designedly, as indicating the continuity of thought in our national history.

The former article makes conspicuous an advanced School in Theology, who cannot lay claim to an extensive following. This school, however, leans upon a basis broader than its own theological foundations, upon sympathy with the spirit of unrestricted enquiry, giving a semblance of support to it, without believing in its doctrines. There is not much in the history of the country fitted to cheer a Broad school party by promising extended influence. The party themselves are not likely to put the matter to a practical test by forming a distinct ecclesiastical organization. They find it safer and more comfortable to avoid such a test, accepting the moral support of a vague sympathy, which does not attempt to formulate itself, as, indeed, it rather dreads formal professions of faith. We do not, then, question the existence of a school, which boastfully embroiders 'progress' on its banner, as if this word were its own special inheritance. But there is progress everywhere, for there is no church in the land without a share in it, unless we must except the Roman Catholic. But this 'progress' of a Broad party has behind it a solid mass of conviction resting in a truly broader and deeper theology, Calvinistic and Evangelistic, whose strength is as the strength of the historic faith of the country. Nevertheless, this 'progress' party esteems itself the van-guard of a great army, for a sanguine disposition lives in its highly-cultivated leaders; but if it only hold on its march, it will give demonstration complete, that the army is not moving on the same line. That this 'van-guard'

will refuse to hear the bugle-call for return, is likely enough; but that fact may concern the 'van' more than the army.

To put our allegation quite plainly, the admiring sketch of Progress in Theology, includes too exclusively the novelties of Scotch theological literature, without estimating the vitality they possess, or their relation to the chief characteristics of national thought on religious questions. As a picture, its back-ground is rubbed in too darkly and roughly, while the main figures are painted too freshly. The point of observation selected is one from which the past is seen too much in shadow, while the present is all in golden hues, and the future is lost in atmospheric effects. The picture is not such as students of Scotch Theology would be warranted in accepting as an adequate representation of our national thought.

If the question be pressed, where does Scotland stand theologically at the present day? various answers may be given, of which the previous article, and that now presented, may be taken as illustrations. The answer here offered, is this,—Scotland has always been Calvinistic, and it promises to continue so. Divine Sovereignty is its central conception, determining logical procedure in formulating all its theological doctrine; and this sovereignty is held to be manifested in the work of a Divine Saviour provided for the guilty, appointed to suffer in their room, and in that of the Divine Spirit sent forth by Father and Son. Divine sovereignty expressed in an Evangelical Creed is the common belief of a great majority of theologians of Scotland, and of the grand majority of the people. This Creed is not now, indeed, expressed and illustrated in language exactly similar to the familiar phraseology of the past. There is less tendency in the teaching of the present day to strain to the utmost mere logical forms, and a greater disposition to present truth in the concrete, with all the colouring and glow of affection. This change is not here overlooked, nor is there any disposition to minimise its extent or value, for it is recognised as clear gain both to the region of thought and of practical religion. But, it is misinterpreted, if it be not recognised that the absolute sovereignty of God is

in the midst of the Christian faith as much now as it has been in any past age of Scotland's history, and in some respects much more powerfully, because more closely allied with the exposition of Divine love, and the efficient power of the affections in Christian life. We are delivered from bondage to logical forms, and with this we have escaped the tendency to insist upon dogmatic conclusions regarding the number of the redeemed, and to formulate deductions as to a work of exclusion implied in a doctrine of predestination. But there is no timidity about affirming Divine sovereignty as an article of faith, as if it were to be constantly guarded by us; and this is so only because the faith itself is most surely accepted and embodied in the intellectual and religious life of the nation.* On the other hand, there is little now of the declaration that the Gospel is preached to all only on the ground of the Divine command, because Evangelical faith owns the all-sufficiency of the atonement of Christ as the warrant for Gospel preaching, as it is the expression of Divine sovereignty in its relation to sinful men. These few indications are enough to show that 'progress' in theological thought in Scotland is here thankfully acknowledged. But in full view of the nature and extent of this evidence, it is at the same time maintained that the 'progress' of the Broad school party is not the 'progress' of national thought, nor has it even any effective part in the guidance of the nation. That 'progress' is the perpetually recurring party cry of the Broad school, we all know; and that it does impress some with the belief that the party is an influential one, we allow; and that a measure of self-delusion has crept over the leaders of the party themselves, we do not doubt. But the Broad school is not leading Scottish thought, nor receiving any promise of leadership for the future. Any representation to the contrary must shelter itself under a vague use of the word 'progress'; a use which will not be objectionable to the Broad school itself; a vagueness favouring what this

* That there are a number of literary men who do not accept the Evangelical faith is admitted, but they do not to any considerable extent influence theological thought in this country.

school proclaims as 'liberty.' In the vocabulary of vagueness, 'liberty' means many things, just as 'progress' does; for there is a rendering of liberty which includes unlimited freedom of spirit and speech, so that a man may be bound by no recognised body of truth as fundamental to Christian faith. But this is a liberty which the Scotch people do not believe in; and the 'progress' depending upon it must be matter of slight concern to those whose interest lies in the progress of national thought on theological questions. Accordingly, the leaders of the Broad school party, whose names are conspicuous at the head of the previous article, are not conspicuous for their influence on the main current of national thought. No one of their admirers will think of naming them as having any recognised part in the Calvinism of Scotland; and we should fancy such admirers will have insuperable difficulty in demonstrating that national thought is anything but Calvinistic. The names of Dr. Caird, Dr. Service, and Dr. Story are respected names; each on its own merit has its own distinct share of esteem; but all three together do not include among their honours that of leadership of national thought. Principal Tulloch has retained his relation to the national faith in quite a different way. That these three just named have a kind of leadership is granted, but their following is neither numerous, nor influential, in theological thought properly so-called. Part of that following has been so aptly described in the previous article, that the sketch may be transcribed—'We confess that, not seldom we have felt, in listening to the apostles of the new school—chiefly very young men—that they had hardly a message to deliver, or, if so, that the pulpit was not the place in which to set it forth,' (p. 7). Emptiness of theological thought is the substance of this description of their teaching, as we interpret the words, and teaching marked by such emptiness does not satisfy people trained in the Shorter Catechism, the name of which is, however, an offence to a pronounced adherent of the Broad school. Such teachers have thrown away what the great majority of the religious people of this land regard as the most valuable elements of Christian faith.

In order that such a discussion as this may have any value,

we must have some definite conception of the meaning of 'progress in theology.' If this be obtained, it will go far towards vindicating the conclusion that the history of the Broad School is one of advance without progress; a march out without instructions or fixed destination; an exercise of which the Scotch people have no high admiration, for they desire to know why men are moving, and towards what results. Progress is not mere movement from one place to another, far less is it a breaking with the past, a departure from the basis of thought on which the intelligence of the country has been working through previous ages. Progress is growth from the root upwards; it is an evolution of thought from a rational basis, widening the area of its life, and assimilating fresh influences favourable to further growth. Any departure from this radical idea of evolution must be fatal to the pretensions of any 'new school' of theological thought. That a 'new school' exists in Scotland, we admit; that it has arisen under pressure of new movements of thought common to Scotland, as to the civilized world, we grant; but we undertake to demonstrate that it is not in any proper sense an evolution of theological thought in our land, that its roots are not in our familiar Scotch Theology, and that it has no broad rational basis, and no such intellectual vigour, as to give promise of an influential career.

The important distinction between national and cosmopolitan thought must have consideration here. The question raised concerns national thought. After all that has been said, and justly said, against a tendency to judge the world from a Scotch stand-point, there can be no favour for a proposal to answer our question on the assumption that Scotland is the world, or that she is entirely superior to the influences extending over the other nations of the earth. The wide range of theological thought throughout the whole Christian nations carries Scotland with it, as it carries England, and Germany, and France, and America. All the nations do not share alike in the common influence, and account must be made of this diversity of result; but all alike experience the effects of the direction or set of the current. No one can pro-

pose to discuss our question on terms implying the isolation of Scotland. Accordingly the whole progress of thought concerning the sacred text, consequent upon its study under the critical method, is wide of the question, except in the very modified form of the comparative amount of influence it has exerted in Scotland. Our country has felt the effect of the critical method, as all Christian lands have, but there is nothing in this which bears on theological thought proper, by giving to it a new direction, or supplying a special advantage to such theological thought as the new school favour. Questions of date, and authorship, and integrity of certain passages of the several books of the Holy Scriptures, are general questions, all of which have a grave importance in their own place. But, however much may be made of them, it is misleading to suggest that they have any deep significance as to the fundamental characteristics of the theology founded on Scripture, and elaborated under the rational conditions of strict thought. Equally delusive it would be to attempt to judge of progress in Scotland, by reference to features common to all Christian nations. The true point of interest is, what progress has Scotland made in the line of its own distinctive theology, and by the action of its own thinkers?

The Scotch Theology is that expressed in the Westminster Confession, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms. Bearing the name of 'Westminster,' it is the theology which has taken root in our northern soil, and has flourished for centuries. It is the theology previously accepted under the National League and Covenant, declaring 'that this is the only true Christian faith and religion, pleasing God and bringing salvation to man, which now is, by the mercy of God, revealed to the world by the preaching of the blessed Evangel.' While distinctively evangelical in its practical bearing, it is cast in a mould, which the thought of our country has accepted as proper to theology, according to which all things are interpreted from the fundamental position of Divine sovereignty. This is the key to the whole, by reference to which the religious life of Scotland may be understood. The principle of our Confession is that theology must be a concatenated system, in which the conception of God

rules the whole order and relations of our thought. To this idea, and also to the grand essentials in the consequent scheme of faith, as this idea is applied to Creation, Providence, and Grace, our nation stands true. Theological characteristics of the national mind, as developed under the doctrinal teaching which the Church has supplied, turn with clearness and vigour to the defence of our theological system. This does not prevent the admission of imperfections in our Confession, for the logical tendency in the national mind is critical of its own faith, as well as strong in its defence. Accordingly, it is generally admitted that our Confession is at many points one-sided, always severely logical in its forms, and tending in some measure to obscure the fulness of the divine love. Nevertheless, while all these admissions are quite commonly made, it is generally recognised that there is so much consistency and strength in the system as a whole, that its foundations cannot be shaken. This we venture to say represents the prevailing view of the Scotch people; the decided conviction of the large majority, including not only the great proportion of our three Presbyterian Churches, but also a large proportion of the Congregational and Baptist Churches, and not a few even of those whose testimony takes the form of opposition to higher Calvinistic doctrine. If we grant any disturbing element affecting our calculations, it is not found in the power of a Broad school party, but in an increased proportion of persons manifesting indifference to theological beliefs, and to their practical bearings.

The comparative powerlessness of the Broad school party, betraying a sense of weakness in their own reasonings, and deducting enormously from a rational prospect of influence over the national mind, appears from their misrepresentation and perversion of the formally expressed system of belief. An illustration of the style of criticism aimed at in this charge against the Broad school may be taken from Dr. Story, whose pages supply a profuse set of examples. And the selection is the more freely made here, that the passage was quoted in the previous article with apparent approval, and cannot be regarded as an example of hasty and ill-considered utterance.

The passage runs thus:—‘A God wilfully choosing some, wilfully rejecting others, and looking unmoved on their hopeless suffering; a God in whom “justice contends with mercy;” a God who needs to be persuaded by the bribe of his own Son’s death, I cannot believe in, without being false to that witness of the Spirit, which is above all human reason in its divine authority.’* We take it as a betrayal of weakness to write in serious argument a passage which is so coarse a misrepresentation of the religious belief common in the nation. Of its erroneous nature, the author might have been warned by the utterance of his own surprise at ‘the mystery of men being able to believe in the existence of a God who could so act.’ We venture an expression of wonder at the mystery of any one being able to attribute such a belief to his fellow-countrymen. The inherent refinement of the Scotch people,—the element of reverence which lies deep in the heart of the nation,—would repudiate at once such a form of expression; and if the people thought it worth while to shew something of their feeling concerning it, there would be a blending of Saxon and Celtic fire, as vivid as ever illuminated Argyleshire under play of electricity. The author of this attempt to formulate an article in the creed of his fellow-countrymen, and which he presents to his readers as a description of ‘what many a man believes as “the plan of salvation,”’ will not only find it impossible to verify his description by reference to the Westminster Confession; but will find himself sorely pressed for illustration, even if he institute a most laborious and diligent research in the least attractive fields of unauthorised literature. Let us, however, look at the passage closely, for it may stand as an illustration of a common style of attack on the Westminster Confession by some who sign it without loving it, and by others who openly reject the system of doctrine it teaches. The doctrine assailed is that of Predestination as expressed in Chapter III. of the Confession, ‘Of God’s Eternal Decree;’ a doctrine held to be the logical expression of the idea of God, or Absolute Ruler, when ap-

* *Creed and Conduct*, by Dr. Story, p. 164.

plied to the history of the Universe. It is a doctrine which applies to salvation only as it applies to all things in the world, and is so stated in the Confession. It is in theological form the expression of the truth, appearing in scientific form under the term 'fixed law;' and the Scotch nation believes in both forms. To state the doctrine as if it were a speciality bearing on the exposition of 'the plan of salvation' is a perversion of it; a wilful perversion we do not say, but a perversion so serious as to destroy the influence of any party making such a perversion the basis of attack on the nationally accepted Confession. That the doctrine of Predestination in a Calvinistic system applies to all things equally, is made conspicuous in the opening clause of the Chapter in which the doctrine is formulated. 'God from all eternity did, by the most wise and holy counsel of His own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass: yet so, as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established.' Over against these strong and guarded words, place the words we quoted above, 'A God wilfully choosing some, wilfully rejecting others, and looking unmoved on their hopeless suffering.' Does 'wilfully' stand for the words of the Confession, 'by the most wise and holy counsel of His own will?' If it does, it is a most unhappy use of language, unworthy of a reformer of Creeds, for 'wilfully' applies to the irrational and obstinate in human conduct; if it does not, our author is misleading others so far as to suggest the very opposite of what the Confession teaches. Again, does 'looking unmoved on hopeless suffering' stand for a logical deduction from the doctrine of the Divine decrees? Then it must be a deduction from 'the most wise and holy counsel of God's will'; but, if it cannot be credited as having such logical worth, it is another misrepresentation. Again, would any one suggest that 'to ordain men to dishonour and wrath for their sin, (Conf. III. 7), is inconsistent with absolute wisdom and holiness, and involves a 'looking unmoved on hopeless suffering'? Writers who indulge in such criticisms must have a special logic, as well as a special theology; and the nation is not likely to be enamoured

of either. Greatly wiser are the words of the Westminster Divines:—‘The doctrine of this high mystery of predestination is to be handled with special prudence and care, that men, attending the will of God revealed in His word, and yielding obedience thereunto, may, from the certainty of their effectual vocation, be assured of their eternal election. So shall this doctrine afford matter of praise, reverence, and admiration of God, and of humility, diligence, and abundant consolation to all that sincerely obey the Gospel.’ (Conf. III. 8.) The Scotch people do not, indeed, now think that the Westminster Divines have been in all respects happy in their mode of presenting ‘this high mystery’; but they clearly recognise that such representations of their doctrine as we have in *Creed and Conduct*, for example, are misrepresentations of the Confession. The statement of theological doctrine in the closing part of the extract is so hideous (we must be allowed the word) that we turn to it only under the painful necessity of making good our charge of misrepresentation—‘A God who needs to be persuaded by the bribe of His own Son’s death.’ The oppressive hatefulness of such a representation of evangelical belief, it is hardly possible to endure; but we are concerned with the logic, and therefore, under protest, we submit to the cruel wrong of looking at the sentence, and being calmly told that this is our faith, or is the faith of an appreciable number of the Scotch people. Is this an inference from the doctrine of the absolute sovereignty of a wise and holy God? Does Divine Sovereignty, ‘ordaining whatsoever comes to pass,’ not ordain salvation in the history of the earth? Does it not ordain the person and the appearing and the work of the Saviour? Is the death of Jesus Christ a quite unexpected event in the world’s history,—something which has emerged to entice the Deity from ‘the most wise and holy counsel of His will’? Is there any gaunt Scotchman alive—was there ever any one of our race?—so utterly lost to the meaning of logical consistency as to give houseroom, in any remote corner of his mind, to such a conception as this? What the Confession teaches is that—‘It pleased God, in his eternal purpose, to choose and ordain the Lord Jesus, His only begotten Son, to be the Mediator between God

and man.' This is the authorised expression of our Scotch theology, of which the words of the author of *Creed and Conduct* are a misrepresentation. We do not propose to involve the Broad school party in full responsibility for the utterances of one of its members; but neither can it justly be overlooked that this style of attack on the Calvinistic Evangelical faith is very commonly adopted. Such misrepresentation can be credited with but slight influence over religious thought in Scotland. On this evidence alone, it seems plain that the Broad school has small power in swaying the intellect of the country.

Next as a test, we shall take recent ecclesiastical action in Scotland. That a full share of the unsettling influence of a newly awakened scientific spirit, with the critical and historical method, favouring the conception of evolution of thought throughout the ages, has fallen upon Scotland every one will allow. What gage, then, of the power of a Broad school party have we in the ecclesiastical history of our country? In forming a judgment, we may combine procedure affecting the Creed itself, and actions bearing upon the faithfulness of individuals to the Confession which they had accepted under ordination vows. Evidence of this kind, at command of all, substantiates our position that the religious thought of the country continues faithful to the Calvinistic system. In the Established Church no movement has occurred, even on the part of the Broad school, to secure a modification of the Creed. A proposal has been submitted that elders of the Church should not be required to give their full assent to the Confession as ministers of the Church, who are trained theologians, are naturally required to do. But this is nothing more than evidence of a somewhat common conviction that the Westminster Confession is too detailed and intricate, and in many of its forms of expression is more closely allied to a past historic period than to present modes of thought and expression; and, accordingly, that it demands a historic spirit for its interpretation, which can hardly be required of all laymen who may otherwise be willing to undertake the office of the eldership. In the Free Church, no formal movement has been originated for modification or

exposition of the Creed. In the United Presbyterian Church, direct action has been taken to guard against misunderstandings by giving expression to certain phases of the Evangelical Faith which have not such prominence in the Westminster Confession, as this portion of the Presbyterian Church has deemed needful. The result appears in the following form :—

‘WHEREAS the formula in which the Subordinate Standards of this Church are accepted requires assent to them as an exhibition of the sense in which the Scriptures are understood : Whereas these Standards, being of human composition, are necessarily imperfect, and the Church has already allowed exception to be taken to their teaching or supposed teaching on one important subject : And whereas there are other subjects in regard to which it has been found desirable to set forth more fully and clearly the view which the Synod takes of the teaching of Holy Scripture : Therefore, the Synod hereby declares as follows :—

- ‘1. That in regard to the doctrine of redemption as taught in the Standards, and in consistency therewith, the love of God to all mankind, His gift of His Son to be the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, and a free offer of salvation to men without distinction on the ground of Christ’s perfect sacrifice, are matters which have been and continue to be regarded by this Church as vital in the system of gospel truth, and to which due prominence ought ever to be given.
- ‘2. That the doctrine of the divine decrees, including the doctrine of election to eternal life, is held in connection and harmony with the truth that God is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance, and that He has provided a salvation sufficient for all, adapted to all, and offered to all in the gospel ; and also with the responsibility of every man for his dealing with the free and unrestricted offer of eternal life.
- ‘3. That the doctrine of man’s total depravity, and of his loss of “all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation,” is not held as implying such a condition of man’s nature as would affect his responsibility under the law of God and the gospel of Christ, or that he does not experience the strivings and restraining influences of the Spirit of God, or that he cannot perform actions in any sense good ; although actions which do not spring from a renewed heart are not spiritually good or holy—such as accompany salvation.
- ‘4. That while none are saved except through the mediation of Christ, and by the grace of His Holy Spirit, who worketh when, and where, and how it pleaseth Him ; while the duty of sending the gospel to the heathen, who are sunk in ignorance, sin, and misery, is clear

and imperative ; and while the outward and ordinary means of salvation for those capable of being called by the Word are the ordinances of the gospel : in accepting the Standards, it is not required to be held that any who die in infancy are lost, or that God may not extend His grace to any who are without the pale of ordinary means, as it may seem good in His sight.

- '5. That in regard to the doctrine of the Civil Magistrate, and his authority and duty in the sphere of religion, as taught in the Standards, this Church holds that the Lord Jesus Christ is the only King and Head of the Church, and "Head over all things to the Church, which is His body;" disapproves of all compulsory or persecuting and intolerant principles in religion; and declares, as hitherto, that she does not require approval of anything in her Standards that teaches, or may be supposed to teach, such principles.
- '6. That Christ has laid it as a permanent and universal obligation upon His Church, at once to maintain her own ordinances, and to "preach the gospel to every creature;" and has ordained that His people provide by their free-will offerings for the fulfilment of this obligation.
- '7. That, in accordance with the practice hitherto observed in this Church, liberty of opinion is allowed on such points in the Standards, not entering into the substance of the faith, as the interpretation of the "six days" in the Mosaic account of the creation : the Church guarding against the abuse of this liberty to the injury of its unity and peace.'

This is a document setting forth, specially in articles 1 to 4 inclusive, the essential place which the love of God to all mankind holds as a doctrine in the midst of the Calvinistic system. Its structure as a declaratory act is in harmony with prevailing views in all our Presbyterian Churches, and in most other Churches constituted under a different polity, except those which draw their inspiration from England or from Rome. In all this there is no trace of evidence of any departure from Calvinistic doctrine, but clear proof of intelligent earnest adherence to it. Modification in the mode of presenting the doctrines of the Creed would be very freely declared to be desirable; but acceptance of the system of doctrine is at the present time as general, and as emphatic as at any time in our national history. This conclusion is confirmed by glancing at recent examples of ecclesiastical actions, challenging fidelity to the Creed in the case of Ministers of the Church. The Broad

party exists, it is true, in the Established Church, without challenge, but ecclesiastical procedure annually discloses the limited strength of the party. In the Free Church, there has been formal challenge of a bold departure on the line of criticism of the Sacred text; if account be made of both parties in the discussion, it has come out clearly that, while there is willingness to allow for range of critical study, there is a strong determination in the Church that no modification of the Creed shall be regarded with favour except on very clear and full testimony in its support. Even high ability is unavailing to gain a relaxation of sensitive watchfulness over the integrity of the Creed. In the United Presbyterian Church a direct claim has been made to allow for such a modification of the Westminster Confession as would warrant a belief in 'conditional immortality;' and there did not appear in that Church any hope for such a claim, or for anything of a similar character being seriously considered.

The evidence thus adduced is sufficient to establish our position, that there is not in Scotland any departure from the Calvinistic Evangelical Faith, such as to foreshadow success for a Broad school party, however well manned and officered. But one consideration more remains before closing. The method of reasoning adopted by the Broad school is such as utterly fails to command the confidence of the country. Illustration enough is supplied within the former article and to that our present discussion may be restricted. The Broad school fear logic, and favour feeling; and the country does not admire their preference. We are familiar with the description of our race which so often introduces an allusion to the 'hard-headed Scotchmen.' If the phrase has any aptness, the method of the Broad school can gain slight approval. The illustration taken from *Creed and Conduct* will support this opinion. After suggesting that the Creed implies that God did 'out of His mere good pleasure' leave multitudes of men 'to the horrors of eternal punishment,' the author asks in antagonism to such a view, 'Is it simple to the heart? Is it intelligible to that spirit of love, without which no man can know God?' Looking now only at the method of enquiry here, what is it worth?

Simple to the heart ; intelligible to love. What does this mean ? Can any doctrine be tested by mere feeling ; is there any rational meaning in suggesting that love can do the work of intelligence ? Obviously not. What then is really involved ? That the doctrine which reason can indicate on a clear basis, our feeling will be found to be in sympathy with. But, if so, intellect is still the test, for feeling cannot supply the data, or judge of such inferences as are essential to all Theology. To suggest the opposite is to declare against systematic Theology, which, ultimately, is to declare against rational methods. No party can afford to persist in setting up feeling as an ultimate test of truth. A non-rational party is next neighbour to an irrational party. A slight glimpse of the probable result is obtained from a single illustration of positive doctrinal teaching, in contrast with criticism. The doctrine is this, that God has sent forth his Son to seal to men 'the assurance of the universal pardon for all sin.*' On what does our author rely for support of the doctrine ? 'The witness of my spirit testifies that the spirit can rise to no higher idea of God than this.' A very vague, and personal, and questionable test for truth, which does not promise largely for the unity of the faith. On this footing every man may enunciate his dogma, supporting it on this slight warrant,—'my spirit testifies' ! Was there ever a dogma proclaimed for which its author could not affirm as much ? But contradictory dogmas have been promulgated. Where then is our test ? Not the testimony of my spirit, but the common intelligence of man, which must proceed according to evidence and rational law. Without this the testimony of my spirit becomes a meaningless whisper. We shall not again return on the Confession, to place its strong words against such well-meaning and pleasantly sounding ambiguity. But we may set over against the words of the author of *Creed and Conduct* as to 'universal pardon,' the more thoughtful, far reaching utterances of Professor Vinet of Lausanne :—'We must not be afraid of saying that

* *Creed and Conduct*, p. 165.

the thought of a world without a God who punishes is a thought of despair.* By what method shall we settle between doctrines so contradictory as these? Will it be enough to say,—‘The witness of my spirit testifies?’ The number of Scotchmen ready to allow this is very small. The majority believe that we must go to the Divine Revelation, to interpret, and reverently and patiently deduce in strict logical method, what is the bearing of its teaching; or if we seek to discuss the subject by light of nature, this must be light of reason, for we must ask what is involved in the conception of God, as a moral governor under whose sway all law is fixed law. Possibly we shall be told that the author of *Creed and Conduct* does not mean absolutely to deny that sin will be punished. This is not inconceivable nor improbable; but if it be accurate, it will be enough to show how little he has done to set forth the fundamental conditions of this great and grave problem.

When Scotchmen cast their eye over the history of their country, and over a range of history wider still, they cannot wish to have the claims of truth settled otherwise than by test of reason; they cannot be willing to exalt feeling to the place of authority. Nor will they countenance the attempt to discredit doctrinal teaching. The power of thought is that which we value first; with it as attendant may safely come force of feeling. But we cannot believe in the value of a leadership which speaks of our ‘life,’ as if it were to be guided by feeling, and as if kindliness and softness were among its main excellencies. We are of a hardy stock, and even if we be willing to admire gentleness and tenderness of heart, we have not lost, and will not surrender, our admiration of the grip and strength of a rugged reformer like our own John Knox,—or of a Luther in Germany,—or of the clear and powerful thinker of Geneva, whose name is identified with our Calvinistic Evangelical creed.

* *Outlines of Philosophy and Literature*, p. 201.

ANCIENT CELTIC LATIN HYMNS.

*Anecdota quæ ex Ambrosianæ Bibliothecæ codicibus nunc primum
eruit Ludovicus Antonius Muratorius. TOMUS TERTIUS.
Patavii: Typis Seminarii, MDCCXIII.*

*Leabhar imuiun. The Book of Hymns of the Ancient Church of
Ireland. Dublin: Printed at the University Press, for the
Irish Archæological and Celtic Society, 1855, and (Second
Part) 1869.*

IT is proposed in the following paper to give a short account of the group of Latin hymns, which formed part of the literature, and some of which entered into the worship, of that antient Celtic Church of Ireland and Scotland, whose clergy, through an inaccuracy now happily almost extinct, were at one time frequently, and are even now occasionally, designated by the generic name of Culdees. It is not intended to deal with Celtic writers such as Sedulius, whose works have been mainly, if not entirely, confined to the Continent, nor with mediæval or modern hymnographers such as those whose compositions are found in the Aberdeen Breviary, but only with those of the golden age of the Scoto-Irish Church, before its institutions became ruined or modified from Teutonic causes, such as the incursions of the Danes or the influence of the Cantuarian school of ecclesiasticism. Some few of these curious poems were certainly not themselves of Celtic origin, but their interest is well-nigh the same, as throwing light upon the feelings, practices, and beliefs of the school by which they were assimilated.

The whole number of these Latin hymns of which the present writer knows of the existence, is twenty-seven, and with two exceptions they are all to be found either in the Antiphonarium Benchorense or in the Leabhar imuiun.

The Antiphonarium Benchorense is a MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and was printed at full length by Muratori in the volume named at the head of this article. The text is extremely unsatisfactory, and may indeed in some places be fairly called unintelligible, but whether this be owing to the

original MS., or to Muratori or his copyist, or to his printer, can only be ascertained by a fresh examination and publication of the text, which has yet to be made. Muratori supposed that the Codex itself was about a thousand years old. It certainly concludes with a poem in which Cronan, Abbat of Benchor from A.D. 680 to 691, is mentioned as still alive. The Antiphonarium is entirely in Latin. It is a sort of manual of hymns, canticles, prayers, blessings, &c.,—such a book, in fact, as, with the addition of the Psalter and Lessons, would roughly represent what is now called a Breviary; and it is unnecessary to say that its consequent value to liturgiologists, as throwing light on the Rite of those who used it, is very great.

The Leabhar imuiun is represented by two MSS. One is in Trinity College Library, Dublin, and the late Dr. Todd undertook to edit it for the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society. It was to appear in three parts; and of these, two were published, the second after Dr. Todd's death, with a promise on the part of the Society to publish the third 'at no distant period'—a promise which they have not yet fulfilled. Dr. Todd considered that the Trinity College MS. could not be assigned to a later date than the ninth or tenth century. It consists mainly of canticles and hymns, with a few Latin prose pieces. It is filled with notes, and eight of the hymns are in Gaelic. The other MS. has never been printed at all. It was never seen by Dr. Todd, and has only lately been brought from the Irish house of St. Isidore at Rome to Dublin, where it is in the possession of the Franciscan Friars of the Convent at Merchants' Quay. It is rather shorter than the Trinity College MS., (though it contains two Latin hymns not in the latter), and has only five Gaelic poems. For these reasons it may be surmised that it is the older Codex of the two; a surmise rendered all the more probable by the fact that it does not contain the two hymns for the Festivals of Patrick and Brigid, of which we shall have hereafter to speak as the last, and seemingly most modern, of all the hymns to be noticed.

The first place among these compositions in point of antiquity is claimed, if not secured, by the *Hymn of Hilary in praise of Christ*—commencing with the words 'Hymnum dicat turba

fratrum'—'Let the band of brethren say the hymn.' It is certainly ascribed to the great Hilary of Poitiers, who died A.D. 369, and the arguments on which the authorship has been claimed for Hilary of Arles, who died in 449, cannot be described as convincing. The hymn itself bears the marks of a very remote antiquity, but the text is in a lamentably corrupt and uncertain state; so much so indeed, as to make any attempt at a quotation of reasonable length difficult. It was certainly written for some religious gathering before dawn, and very strongly recalls the statement of Pliny that 'the Christians were accustomed to meet together on a certain day before the light, and to repeat a hymn to Christ as God.' It consists of 148 short lines, and after a brief invitation to the brethren, opens with a striking though somewhat singular invocation to Christ Himself—

Tu Dei de corde Verbum,
Tu Via, Tu Veritas,
Jesse Virga Tu vocaris,
Te Leonem legimus;
Dextra Patris, Mons et Agnus,
Angularis Tu Lapis,
Sponsus Idem, EL, Columba,
Flamma, Pastor, Janua.
In Prophetis inveniris

Nostro natus sæculo.
Ante sæcla Tu fuisti;
Factor primi sæculi;
Factor coeli, terræ Factor,
Congregator Tu maris;
Omniumque Tu Creator
Quæ Pater nasci jubet.
Virginis receptus membris
Gabriele nuntio—*

and so it proceeds through an epitome of His whole life, and ends with a renewed call on the brethren to praise Him, now that the cock by crowing and flapping his wings is showing his consciousness of the near approach of day.

* Thou art the Word from the Heart of God; Thou art the Way; Thou art the Truth; Thou art called the Rod of Jesse; we read that Thou art the Lion; Thou art the Right Hand of the Father; Thou art the Mountain and the Lamb; Thou art the Corner-Stone; the Bridegroom also, EL, the Dove, the Flame, the Shepherd, the Door. In the Prophets art Thou found born into our world. Thou hast been before the worlds; Thou art the Maker of the first world; Thou art the Maker of heaven; Thou art the Maker of earth; Thou art the Gatherer-together of the sea; and Thou art the Creator of all things which the Father commandeth to come into being. Thou, at the message of Gabriel, wast received into the body of a Virgin, &c., &c., &c.

EL is the Hebrew for 'God,' and is the reading of the *Leabhar imuiun*, the gloss of which comments upon it. Muratori reads *vel*.

The hymn which may contest the palm of antiquity with the *Hymnum dicat* is one of fourteen verses of four lines each, but seemingly abbreviated from one of twenty-one verses, preserved at length in a Mozarabic Breviary. It is intended for use at midnight, commencing in the Benchor Antiphonary with the words, 'Mediæ noctis tempus est,'—'It is the time of midnight'—and is ascribed to the famous Ambrose of Milan, who died in 397. The contents seem to be clearly a paraphrase of a passage from his works (on Ps. cxviii.), in which he speaks first of the Israelites being protected by the blood upon their door-posts from the destroying angel who went through Egypt at midnight; then of Paul and Silas singing in prison at midnight; and lastly of the Parable of the Ten Virgins and the Bridegroom coming at midnight. In the hymn these two last subjects are clumsily transposed, and it may be speculated whether such a paraphrase is not more likely to have been made by some disciple or student of Ambrose than by Ambrose himself; and the poem itself ascribed to him later, from being one of the Ambrosian school. Whoever be the actual author, the work itself possesses very great merit. It is not in the Book of Hymns.

If the date of these two hymns may be safely taken to be earlier than that of the conversion of Ireland, it may be considered uncertain whether that of the next is so or not. This is the hymn *Sancti Venite*, found only in the Benchor Antiphonary, and belonging to the very ancient and small class of hymns intended to be sung during the administration of the Holy Communion; of which class, however, at least one other specimen (and that a very beautiful one), by Radpert, may be seen in Daniel's Thesaurus, iii. 293. The MS. called the *Leabhar breac* embodies a legend that Patrick and his nephew Sechnall heard angels singing it on one occasion, and adds, 'So that from that time to the present that hymn is chanted in Erin when the Body of Christ is received.' The account appears to imply that the hymn itself was known before the time spoken of, when the writer believed a circumstance to have occurred which was the origin of a custom in his day universal and immemorial in Ireland. The guileless simplicity

of the *Sancti Venite*, which is indeed rather a disconnected series of pious thoughts plainly expressed than a formal composition, makes it almost too delicate for translation; but at the same time invests it with a certain charm which took the fancy of the late Dr. Neale, by whom it was gracefully paraphrased in the lines beginning, 'Draw nigh, and take the Body of the Lord,' and in that form it is, we believe, occasionally sung in Anglican churches at the present time. The text is as follows:—

Sancti Venite,
Christi Corpus sumite,
Sanctum bibentes
Quo redempti Sanguinem;
Salvati Christi
Corpore et Sanguine,
A Quo refecti
Laudes dicamus Deo;
Hoc Sacramento
Corporis et Sanguinis
Omnes exuti
Ab inferni faucibus.
Dator salutis
Christus Filius Dei
Mundum salvavit
Per Crucem et Sanguinem.
Pro universis
Immolatus Dominus
Ipse Sacerdos
Existit et Hostia.
Lege præceptum
Immolari hostias

Qua adumbrantur
Divina mysteria.
Lucis Indultor
Et Salvator omnium
Praeclaram Sanctis
Largitus est gratiam.
Accedant omnes
Pura mente creduli
Sumant æternam
Salutis custodiam.
Sanctorum Custos
Rector quoque Dominus
Vitæ perennis
Largitor credentibus,
Cælestem panem
Dat esurientibus,
De Fonte Vivo
Praebet sitientibus.
Alpha et Omega
Ipse Christus Dominus
Venit venturus
Judicare omnes.*

* Come, O ye holy! take the Body of Christ and drink the Holy Blood whereby ye are redeemed; saved by the Body and the Blood of Christ, renewed by Him, let us give praise to God; all delivered from the jaws of hell by this Sacrament of the Body and the Blood. The Giver of salvation, Christ the Son of God, hath saved the world through His Cross and Blood. The Lord offered up for all, is Himself the Priest and the Victim. That victims should be offered was commanded in the Law wherein are shadowed the mysteries of God. The Giver of light and Saviour of all hath granted an excellent grace to His saints. Let all believers with pure minds draw near; let them take the eternal safeguard of salvation. The Lord, the Guardian and Shepherd of the Saints, the Granter of everlasting life to them that believe, doth give unto the hungry Bread from heaven, doth offer to the thirsty drink from the Living Spring. The Alpha and Omega, the Lord Christ Himself is surely coming to judge mankind.

The imitation of an Hebrew idiom in *venit venturus* is remarkable.

The Sechnall above mentioned is the undisputed author of the hymn *Audite Omnes* in praise of Patrick, whose labours are always spoken of in it as present, and his heavenly reward as future, but which was apparently written towards the end of his career—say about A.D. 490. The singing of it throughout the three days and three nights of Patrick's sleep-festival in spring was one of the four honours paid to his memory. To the grief of modern historians it is merely eulogistic, and can hardly be said to contain a single biographical statement. It is written in what the ancient Irish called the Hebrew manner, that is, it is ABCDarian, in imitation of several of the Psalms and portions of the Book of Lamentations. As I and J are in Latin the same, and also U and V, and as there is no W, it consists of twenty-three verses, each beginning with one of the letters of the alphabet respectively, in their regular order. As in the other compositions of this school of the same sort, X is represented by 'Christus,' in the Greek contraction of XPC for XPICTOC, and Y by Ymnus for Hymnus, in connection with which it is curious that *ymnon* is the only word in Irish that begins with or even contains a *y*. Each of the stanzas of the *Audite omnes* contains eight short lines, of which the last four are always a sort of appendix to the first four. The merit of the whole as a literary task, is certainly very considerable. The verse C is interesting as showing the way in which the celebrated text Matth. xvi. 18 was understood at the time and place of the writer—

Constans in Dei timore
Et fide immobilis,
Super quem ædificatur
Ut Petrum Ecclesia;
Cujusque Apostolatum
A Deo sortitus est;
In cuius portæ adversus
Inferni non prævalent.*

The curious belief so widely spread, that at the Last Day,

* He is constant in the fear of God, and immoveable in faith; upon him is built a church, as upon a Peter; and his apostolate he hath received from God; the gates of hell do not prevail against him.

when the Apostles shall sit upon thrones, judging the tribes of Israel, Patrick will have a throne also, and will judge the Irish, may possibly have originally sprung from verse Z—

Zona Domini præcinctus
Diebus ac noctibus
Sine intermissione
Deum orat Dominum,
Cujus ingentis laboris
Percepturus præmium
Cum Apostolis regnabit
Sanctus super Israël.*

Before leaving the subject of the immediate surroundings of Patrick, it is as well to mention that the Benchor book contains a short hymn in honour of his disciple Caemhlach. It is ABCDarian, with one short line to each letter except Y and Z; these two letters it either never had, or they have disappeared in the corruption of the text, which has evidently lost at least one line, and ends from X (supplying what is clearly the sense) 'Christ hath gently placed him [in the bosom] of the Patriarch Abraham; he will reign in Paradise with holy Lazarus.'

Considering that Brigid, called the 'Mary of the Gael,' is now held second only to Patrick in Irish hagiology, it is somewhat surprising that no mention of her is to be found in the Benchor Antiphonary. A possible explanation may be, that the Benchor book is strictly a manual for public worship, whereas the *Leabhar imuiun* is rather a poetical miscellany; and the public celebration of Festivals in churches, in memory of Saints not Martyrs, is, with a few exceptions—such as was that of Patrick in Ireland, or of Comgall at Benchor—of comparatively later introduction. The earliest Latin poem concerning her seems to be a scrap consisting of three stanzas, beginning respectively with the letters X, Y, Z. The authorship is variously ascribed to Ninnidh, who was a lad during Brigid's life-time, to Fiach of Sletty, who was strictly her contemporary, or to Ultan of Ardbreccan, who flourished about a century later. Whichever

* He is girt with the belt of the Lord by day and by night; he prays to the Lord God without ceasing; and from Him is he to receive a reward for his vast toil; he will reign with the Apostles, as a Saint, over Israël.

be the case, and whether a somewhat different stanza, beginning with A, which is now appended to the end, was or was not originally the first verse, the stanza Y seems to confirm the antient tradition that the hymn originally had stanzas for all the letters of the alphabet, and that the matter contained in it was of a more or less biographical character :—

Ymnus iste angelicæ
Summeque sanctæ Brigidæ
Fari non valet omnia
Virtutum mirabilia
Quæ nostris nunquam auribus
Si sint facta audivimus
Nisi per istam virginem
Mariæ sanctæ similem.*

Gildas, called the Wise, who is believed to have been the first to introduce the Roman Liturgy into Ireland, is the reputed author of a poem of the class called *Loricæ* or 'breast-plates,' being designed as protectives against evil, a class of composition of which the earliest specimen is the fine hymn in Gaelic claiming to be the work of Patrick himself. That the *Suffragare* is indeed by the 'querulous' author of the *De Excidio Britannia* is borne out by the Cymric words which it contains, and 'the deadly pestilence of this year' is conjectured to point to the Yellow Plague of A.D. 547. It is remarkable for the singular anatomical catalogue of the parts of the human body upon which protection is invoked, but almost the only bit which can really be styled poetical is the beginning, called in the text itself the first prologue :—

Suffragare, Trinitatis Unitas—
Unitatis miserere Trinitas—
Suffragare, quæso, mihi posito
Magni maris velut in periculo ;
Ut non secum trahat me mortalitas
Hujus anni neque mundi vanitas ;
Et hoc idem peto a sublimibus
Celestis militiæ virtutibus,
Ne me linquant lacerandum hostibus
Sed defendant me jam armis fortibus ;
Ut me illi præcedent in acie

* This hymn of the angelic and most holy Brigid is not able to tell all the wondrous works of power, the like whereof we have never heard of as wrought, save through this virgin, like unto the holy Mary.

Coelestis exercitus militiæ,
 Cerubin et ceruphin (sic) cum millibus,
 Gabrihel et Michael cum similibus :
 Opto tronos, virtutes, archangelos,
 Principatus, potestates, angelos
 Ut me denso defendentes agmine
 Inimicos valeant prosternere ;
 Dum deinde cæteros agonetetas,
 Patriarchas, quatuor quater Prophetas,
 Apostolos navis Christi proretas
 Et martyres omnes peto athletas,
 Atque adjuro et virgines omnes
 Viduas fideles et professores
 Uti me per illos salus sepiat
 Atque omne malum a me pereat.
 Christus mecum pactum firmum feriat
 Cujus tremor tetra sturbas terreat.*

One noticeable feature here is the peculiar Hebrew plural in—*in*, instead of—*im*, a feature which seems to be one of the characteristics of the early Irish writers.

The Latin works of Columba would always be of interest for his sake, whatever their intrinsic worth, but the largest of them, the *Altus*, is in itself one of the most remarkable productions of its school. It is singular, considering the friendship between Columba and Comgall, that neither it nor either of the other poems ascribed to the same author are in the book of Benchor; a phenomenon, however, which may be explained on the same grounds as the silence of that Antiphonary regarding Brigid.

* Help, O Unity in Trinity ! Have mercy, O Trinity in Unity ! Help me, I pray Thee, who am set as it were in the peril of the great sea ; that the deadly pestilence of this year and the vanity of the world may not carry me away. This same do I seek also from the noble powers of the heavenly host, that they leave me not for mine enemies to tear, but defend me now with strong weapons ; that the army of the heavenly host may go before me in battle array—cherubin and seraphin, with thousands, Gabriel and Michael with the like. I desire the thrones, the virtues, the archangels, the principalities, the powers, and the angels, that they protect me with a numerous company and be strong to lay low my foes. While lastly, I seek the other leaders, the Patriarchs, the Prophets four-times-four, the Apostles, the prow-men of Christ's ship, and all the wrestler Martyrs. And I call also upon all the virgins, the faithful widows, and professors, that through them health may hedge me round about, and every evil may perish from me. May Christ make a firm covenant with me, and may the fear of Him scare the foul bands !

It attained great popularity. Legends describe its composition in such a way as practically to mean that it was inspired, or associate it with the most memorable epochs in the life of its author; later times believed that Pope Gregory the Great rose from his throne to listen to it standing. It was considered to be a most powerful *lorica*; a writer in the *Leabhar Breac* says of it—

‘ There is no disease in the world,
No difficulty, that it will not banish.’

The place where it was often said was believed to be preserved from want, the house where it had been said to be that day free from strife, he who had said it to be that day safe from violent death. Maelsuthain O’Cearbhaill is represented as astonished that the seven-times singing of it did not save the life of his sick son, and his own recitation of it is told as one of the acts by which he worked out his salvation. The importance of the *Altus* is not so much on account of its length, though it is among the most considerable of these poems, nor even from its authorship considered by itself, but from its contents. It is in the so-called Hebrew or ABCDarian style, but it adheres far more closely to the model of the ancient Jewish writers than do other hymns of the same kind, for in place of monotonous eulogy of a Saint, it praises the Most High directly for the power and goodness shown in different classes of His works, past, present, or future. Thus we learn the ideas of the writer upon divers subjects, not only of a religious kind, but cosmological; and some idea of his reading may be gained from his use of Greek and of one Hebrew word (*iduma*=*yad*, *yadain*=hand, hands,) and his quotations not only from Holy Scripture, with which his mind was evidently saturated, but also from other writers; the chapter B contains a passage from a work of Gennadius, a Priest of Marseilles in the fifth century; the chapter V is almost unintelligible, but seems probably founded on a Commentary on Job by one Philippus, a Priest, and disciple of Jerome; and it is a very strange coincidence if A was written without a knowledge of the Athanasian Creed. Moreover, the poetic genius of Columba, though less free than

in the use of his mother tongue, rises to grandeur in spite of the hampering of a dead language. It is impossible to form any just estimate of the *Altus* without reading the whole, and it seems hardly fair to represent it to the reader by an analytical synopsis, and a quotation of two or three stanzas. However, a few words may be given, for the sake of comparison rather than for the sake of the poem. The initial verse, upon God Himself, and the first word of which is the *eponymus* of the poem, is as follows :—

Altus Prosator, Vetustus
Dierum, et Ingenitus,
Erat absque origine
Primordio et crepidine,
Est et erit in sæcula
Saeculorum infinita ;
Cui est Unigenitus
Christus et Sanctus Spiritus
Co-æternus in gloriâ
Deitatis perpetuâ :
Non tres deos depromimus
Sed Unum Deum dicimus,
Salvâ fide in Personis
Tribus gloriosissimis.*

After this are seven chapters relating to angels and the creation of the world and fall of man, mainly as affecting them, and Columba's natural propensity to the terrible here excites him to dwell upon the fall of the lost spirits. On this follow seven chapters upon cosmogony, including the netherworld and Paradise, which he treats as parts of it; this passage possesses a very curious element in the scientific theories expressed. Chapter Q recalls the manifestation of God upon Mount Sinai, as the most awful display of His power which has yet taken place; and then come seven more

* The Most High, the Father of all, the Antient of days, and Unbegotten, without origin, without beginning, and without limit, was, is, and will be for ever and ever ; with Whom is co-eternal in everlasting glory of Godhead the Only begotten Son, Who also is the Christ ; and the Holy Spirit. We set not forth three gods, but say that God is One, still holding ever the faith in Three Most Glorious Persons.

chapters upon the end of the world; these are perhaps the finest in the poem. They are extremely grand; and V, which, as already remarked, seems to be a mystic application to the Second Advent of a passage in Job, is skilfully used to heighten the dramatic effect by contrast. R, S, T, and X are on the sounding of the trumpet, the descent of Christ, the resurrection and the judgment, and the work ends as it began, with the praise of the Almighty by His creatures :

Ymnorum cantionibus
Sedulo tinnientibus—
Tripudis sanctis millibus
Angelorum vernantibus—
Quatuorque plenissimis
Animalibus oculis,
Cum viginti felicibus
Quatuor senioribus
Coronas amittentibus
Agni Dei sub pedibus—
Laudatur tribus vicibus
Trinitas æternalibus.

Zelus ignis furibundus
Consumet adversarios
Nolentes Christum credere
Deo a Patre venisse :
Nos vero evolabimus
Obviam Ei protinus,
Et sic cum Ipso erimus
In diversis ordinibus
Dignitatum pro meritis
Præmiorum perpetuis,
Permansuri in gloria
A sæculis in gloria.*

The authorship of the second hymn attributed to Columba, *In Te Christe credentium miserearis omnium*, 'O Christ, have mercy upon all them who believe in Thee,' was the subject of an antient doubt. Some held that all and some that none of it was by Columba; others ascribed to him only the second half. It is short, but naturally divides itself into two, and it must be confessed that the first part is that which shows the greatest identity of language with the *Altus*; the second part is the more uncouth.

Columba's third hymn, the *Noli Pater*, is a full-blown specimen of a *lorica*, and the subject is very curious. The custom

* By songs of praise ringing unceasingly, by thousands of Angels shining in holy dances, and by the four living creatures all full of eyes, with the four-and-twenty happy elders who cast down their crowns under the feet of the Lamb of God,—the Trinity is praised in eternal repetitions of the hymn Thrice-Holy.

The raging fury of fire shall devour the adversaries, who will not to believe that Christ is come from God the Father : but we shall forthwith be caught up to meet the Lord in the air, and so shall we ever be with the Lord, placed in everlasting ranks of exaltation and reward differing according to our deserts, and so to abide in glory, for ever and ever in glory.

so widely spread among many nations, of lighting fires on St. John's Eve (the summer solstice) is generally admitted to be a remnant of sun worship, and the jumping over them or driving animals through them 'for luck,' to be simply and plainly 'passing through the fire to Baal'—indeed, the name of *bale-fires* by which they are known in Scotland is commonly supposed to be merely a corruption of the title of the god. Among Christians, however, the coincidence of dates has caused them to be popularly regarded as lighted in honour of the Baptist. This seems to have been the opinion of Columba, who looked upon them as prophylactics against accidents by fire, especially fire caused by lightning, and sought to intensify their usefulness as such by the hymn in question. His great name was in itself sufficient to gain it wide acceptance. 'It is sung,' says its preface, 'against every fire and every thunderstorm, and whosoever sings it at bed-time and at rising, it protects him against lightning, and it protects the nine persons whom he desires to protect.' This curious composition is as follows :—

Noli Pater indulgere tonitrus cum fulgure
 Ne frangamur formidine hujus atque uridine—
 Te timemus terribilem, nullum credentes similem ;
 Te cuncta canunt carmina Angelorum per agmina—
 Teque exaltant culmina coeli vagi per fulmina,
 O JESU Amantissime ! O Rex regum rectissime !
 Benedictus in sæcula recta regens regimina !
 Joannes coram Domino adhuc matris in utero ;
 Repletus Dei gratia pro vino atque sicera ;
 Elizabeth et Zacharias magnum virum genuit,
 Joannem Baptistam, precursorem Domini—
 Manet in meo corde Dei amoris flamma,
 Ut in argenti vase auri ponitur gemma.*

* Father ! restrain Thou the thunders and the thunder-bolt, that the fear and the fire of them smite us not. Thee do we dread, O Thou Awful One ! and believe that there is none like unto Thee ; all the songs praise Thee, throughout the Angelic hosts. Thee also do extol the high heavens, the paths of the lightnings, O JESUS most loving ! O King of kings most righteous ! Blessed for ever [art Thou,] ruling a righteous rule ! John was in the presence of the Lord, while yet in his mother's womb ; filled was he with the grace of God instead of wine or strong drink ; Elizabeth and Zacharias were the parents of a mighty man, even of John the Baptist, the

The clause beginning 'Elizabeth et Zacharias' occurs in the mediæval and in the present Roman office for Midsummer's Day, and its occurrence in the *Noli Pater* seems to show that it was already in use for that festival before the time of Columba.

The antiquity of the anonymous hymns contained in the Benchor Antiphonary can be guessed merely from their contents; three of them seem probably earlier than the seventh century, if not indeed cœval with, or possibly even older than the introduction of Christianity into Ireland.

The hymn styled (for no apparent reason) 'of the Apostles,' and commencing with the words *Precamur Patrem*, is a long composition of forty-two verses of four lines each, unhappily marred by two lacunæ owing to the decay of the MS. It embodies a sort of epitome of the Life of Christ, and strongly resembles the two compositions first noticed in this paper, especially the *Hymnum dicat*. As it begins with a sort of welcome to the Lord's Day, it may not improbably have formed part of that *vespertina* *Dominicæ noctis missa*, which was the last service attended by Columba upon earth. The language is very noble; and it opens with a comparison between His Own Day and the Lord Himself, which the present writer does not remember to have ever met with elsewhere. The poet takes the first mention of Sunday from the Bible:—'and the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep. . . . And God said: Let there be light. And there was light. And God saw the light that it was good. And God divided the light from the darkness. And God called the light Day, and the darkness He called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day'—and he remembers with this that our Lord is 'begotten of the Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light,' and so hails the Lord and His Day together as first-born children of light.

Forerunner of the Lord. The flame of God's love abides in my heart, as a jewel of gold is laid up in a vessel of silver.

Precamur Patrem.
Regem Omnipotentem,
Et JESUM Christum,
Sanctum quoque Spiritum.

Alleluia.

Deum in una
Perfectum substantia
Trinum

Universorum
Fontis jubar luminum
Æthereorum

Et orbi lucentium.

Hic enim dies
Velut primogenitus
Coeli ab arce

Mundi (1 mundo) olim micuit.

Sic Verbum caro
Factum a principio

Lumen æternum
Missum Patre sæculo.
Illeque proto (*sic*, from the Greek)
Vires adimens caho
Tum improviso
Noctem pepulit mundo ;
Ita æterno
Iste hoste subacto
Polum nodoso
Solvit mortis vinculo.
Tenebræ super
Ante erant abyssum
Quam radiaret
Primus dies dierum ;
Hæc quam prodiret
Vera lux mortalia
Contextit alta
Corda ignorantia.*

The hymn *Sacratissimi Martyres* is one of the noblest efforts of Celtic Latinity. It is marked as to be used on Martyrs' Birthdays, (*i.e.*, their birth by temporal death into an higher life), or for the Sabbath at Mattins,—*i.e.*, the midnight service between Friday and Saturday, or that of daybreak on Saturday, for although Adamnan mentions the bell ringing at midnight for the *hymni matutini*, some of the phrases in the Benchor book (which never mentions Lauds or Prime) clearly point to daybreak as an hour for Mattins. It has a refrain of Alleluia, which may be supposed to have been sung by all present, while the hymn itself was chanted by the precentors.

* We pray to the Father, the Almighty King, and to JESUS Christ, also to the Holy Ghost. Alleluia. (Possibly this Alleluia may be intended to be repeated as a sort of Response after every verse, a feature which will be observed in some other hymns.) God perfect in One Being, Three . . . ray from the source of all lights in heaven and which shine upon the globe. For this day of old time shone upon the earth as a first-born, from the height of heaven : even so was the Word, Eternal Light from the beginning, made flesh and sent from the Father into the world. And that [day] destroying the primal chaos, then thrust away the night from the earth unseen before : so did He, triumphing over the old enemy, free the sky from death's strong fetter. Darkness was upon the deep before there burst forth the first day of days : before that that True Light came forth, deep ignorance covered the dying hearts.

Day of days is a not uncommon appellation of Sunday, primarily applied to Easter Sunday.

Sacratissimi Martyres summi Dei,
 Bellatores fortissimi
 Christi Regis, potentissimi
 Duces exercitus Dei,
 Victores in cœlis
 Deo canentes—Alleluia.
 Excelsissime Christe !
 Cœlorum Deus Cherubin, (*sic*)
 Cui sedes cum Patre sacra,
 Angelorum ibi et Martyrum
 Fulgens ehorus
 Tibi sancti proclamant—Alleluia.
 Magnifice, Tu prior
 Omnium passus crucem,
 Qui devicta morte refusisti
 Mundo, ascendisti ad cœlos ;
 Tibi Sancti proclamant—Alleluia.
 Armis spiritualibus
 Munita mente Apostoli
 Sancti Te sunt secuti,
 Qui cum ipsa crucis
 Paterentur morte
 Tibi Sancti canebant—Alleluia.
 Christe ! Martyrum Tu es
 Adjutor potens prœliantium
 Sancta pro Tua gloria,
 Qui cum victores
 Exirent de hoc sæculo

Tibi sancti canebant—Alleluia.
 Illustris Tua Domine
 Laudanda virtus quæ per Spiritum
 Sanctum firmavit Martyres
 Qui consternerent Zabulum
 Et mortem vincerent,
 Tibi sancti canebant—Alleluia.
 Manu Dei excelsa
 Protecti contra Diabolum
 Steterunt firmati
 Semper Trinitati fidem
 Toto corde servantes ;
 Tibi sancti canebant—Alleluia.
 Vere regnantes erant (? erunt.)
 Tecum, Christe Deus !
 Qui passionis merito coronas
 Habent et centenario
 Fructu repleti gaudent ;
 Tibi sancti proclamant—Alleluia.
 Christi Dei gratiam
 Supplices obsecremus
 Ut in Ipsius gloriam
 Consummemur, et in sanctam
 (? sancta)
 Hierusalem civitatem (? civitate)
 Dei
 Trinitati cum sanctis
 Dicamus—Alleluia.*

*Holy Martyrs of God Most High, strong fighters for King Christ, mighty leaders of God's army, conquerors in heaven, singing to God—Alleluia. Exalted Christ ! God of the heavenly cherubim, Thou Who sharest the Father's holy throne, there the Saints, the bright choir of Angels and Martyrs, cry aloud unto Thee—Alleluia. O glorious One ! first of them all to suffer the cross, Thou Who, when Thou hadst conquered death, didst flash back upon the world, Thou hast ascended into heaven ; unto Thee the Saints cry aloud—Alleluia. The holy Apostles, with minds shielded by spiritual weapons, followed Thee, Saints who, as they suffered the very death of the Cross, sang unto Thee—Alleluia. O Christ ! Thou art the mighty Helper of the Martyrs who wrestle for Thine holy glory, Saints who, when they left this world as conquerors, sang unto Thee—Alleluia. Praised, O Lord, be Thy famous power, which, by the Holy Ghost, steeled the Martyrs to lay Satan low and conquer death ; unto Thee the Saints sang—Alleluia. By God's high hand protected against the devil, they stood steeled, ever keeping true to the Trinity with all their hearts ; unto Thee the Saints sang—Alleluia. In good sooth shall they reign with Thee, O God Christ ! they who have earned by suffering the crowns they hold, and rejoice, filled with fruit an hundredfold ; to Thee the Saints cry aloud—Alleluia. Let us humbly ask the grace of the God Christ that we may be perfected in

The hymn *Spiritus Divinæ* for the Mattins of the Lord's Day is another work bearing the marks of great antiquity, and itself of much intrinsic grandeur. The interest is heightened by the feeling that if Columba had lived another quarter of an hour, he might have been singing it. Unhappily the precise meaning is often very obscure, and this seems probably owing, at least in part, to the corrupt state of the text as printed by Muratori. It has a distinct refrain, which, even more than those of the hymns already cited, gives the idea of being intended to be sung by the whole choir, while the precentors only chanted the rest, like the Invitatories to the *Venite* in the Roman office-books. The sense of the hymn is to lay stress upon the feature of Sonship in our Lord, and to welcome His Day with an invocation of Him Who upon it, being already from eternity the Only-begotten Son of God (John i. 18.) and in time the first-born Son of Mary (Luke ii. 7.) became also the first-born of the dead (Col. i. 18., Rev. i. 5.) and therein the first-born among many brethren. (Rom. viii. 29.)

Spiritus Divinæ
Lucis gloriæ
 Respice in me
 Domine
Deus veritatis
 Domine Deus Sabaoth,
 Deus Israhel,
 Respice.
 Lumen de Lumine
 Referemus Filium Patris
 Sanctumque Spiritum
 In Una Substantia.
 Respice.
Unigenitus et Primogenitus
 A Te obtinemus
 Redemptionem nostram.
 Respice.
 Natus es Spiritu Sancto
 Ex Maria Virgine
 In idipsum in adoptionem
 Filiorum qui Tibi
 Procreati ex fonte vivunt.
 Respice.
 Hæredes et quohæredes

Quia in prædestinatione
A sæculis nobis est
 Deus JESUS Qui nunc cœpit.
 Respice.
Unigenito ex mortuis
 Deo obtinens corpus
 Claritatem Dei manens
 In sæcula sæculorum
 Rex æternorum.
 Respice.
Quia nunc cœpit Qui semper
 Fuit naturæ Tuæ Filius
 Divinæ Lucis gloriæ Tuæ
 Qui est forma et plenitudo
 Divinitatis Tuæ frequens.
 Respice.
Persona Unigeniti
 Et Primogeniti
 Qui est Totus a Toto
 Diximus Lux de Lumine.
 Respice.
 Et Deum verum a Deo vero
 Semper semper confitemur
 Tribus Personis

His glory, and in the holy Jerusalem, the city of God, may with the Saints say to the Trinity—Alleluia.

Christi Tui, in Quem
Et per Quem cuncta creasti,

In una substantia
Respice in me Domine.*

With these hymns may be said to end the most interesting and attractive of the group of compositions here dealt with. Before, however, passing to those locally connected with Benchor, and therefore hardly to be ascribed to any date earlier than the seventh century, it is as well to mention the hymn of the Antiphony which begins *Ignis Creator igneus*—‘Fiery Creator of the fire,’ and which is headed by a direction to use it ‘when the wax-candle is blessed.’ The contents leave no doubt that the Paschal candle is meant, and the hymn itself, like the Roman *Exultet* for the same occasion, after expressing the wish that the light may burn all night, speaks of the column of cloud and fire which led the Israelites out of Egypt, and then of the work of bees, of the formation and combustion of wax. Part of it may remind the reader of the beautiful lines in *Ivanhoe*—

* Spirit of the Divine Light of glory—Lord, do Thou look upon me. God of Truth, Lord God of Sabaoth, God of Israel—Lord, do Thou look upon me. We will confess that the Son of the Father is Light of Light, and that the Holy Ghost is of one [and the same] Substance—Lord, do Thou look upon me. Only-begotten and First-begotten, from Thee we have our redemption—Lord, do Thou look upon me. Thou wast born by the Holy Ghost from the Virgin Mary for this very purpose, for the adoption of sons who are born of the font and live unto Thee—Lord, do Thou look upon me. Heirs and joint-heirs with Thy Christ, for Whom and by Whom Thou hast created all things, for in predestination He Who now beginneth is from everlasting our God JESUS—Lord, do Thou look upon me. [The text of the next verse seems to be almost certainly corrupt, and in the absence of a new examination of the Codex, nothing more can be done than to give a literal translation of the words as printed by Muratori.] God Only-begotten from the dead, having a Body, the Brightness of God, abiding for everlasting the King of everlasting ages—Lord, do Thou look upon me. For now doth He begin who hath ever been the Son of Thy nature, Who is the express image of the Divine Light of Thy glory, and the abounding fulness of Thy Godhead—Lord, do Thou look upon me. The Person of the Only-begotten and First-begotten Who is all of all—we have said—Light of Light—Lord, do Thou look upon me. And ever, ever do we confess that He is Very God of Very God—Lord, in Three Persons, in One substance, do Thou look upon me.

When Israel of the Lord beloved
 Out of the land of bondage came,
 Her fathers' God before her moved
 An awful Guide in smoke and flame.

Ex Ægypto migrantibus
 Indulges geminam gratiam;
 Nubis velamen exhibes,
 Nocturnum lumen porrigis—

By day along the astonished lands
 The cloudy pillar glided slow;
 By night Arabia's crimsoned sands
 Returned the fiery column's glow.

Nubis columna per diem
 Venientem plebem protegis;
 Ignis columna ad vesperum
 Noctem depelliis lumine.

The death of Comgall of Benchor is recorded at A.D. 602. The Antiphony of his monastery contains, as might be expected, a long poem in his honour. It is monotonously eugolistic, without biographical interest, and certainly wearisome. It is the most artificial composition of its class. After an introductory stanza, it proceeds to give one to every letter of the alphabet, each stanza being of eight lines, exclusive of a refrain of—

Quem Deus ad ætherea
 Conduxit habitacula
 Ab Angelis custodita
 Permansura in sæcula.*

—of which the whole or the two latter lines are alternately appended to every verse. But, in addition to this, the author has contrived to make every line in each stanza respectively, with rare exceptions, end with the same syllable; and has also evidently desired to make the capital letter of each stanza the first letter of every line in it, an aim which he has only fully attained with A and D.

The lines beginning and ending *Benchuir bona regula*—‘Good is the rule of Benchor’ are an ardent benediction upon that monastery, by means of a number of Scriptural comparisons, including the Ark of the Covenant, and the Virgin Mother herself. Curiously enough the Gaelic word *Munther* (Muintir) is used in it (probably to suit the scansion) instead of *familia*.

Somewhat similar is the poetical commemoration of the Abbots of Benchor with which the Antiphony ends, and the date of which, and possibly of the MS. containing it, is indicated,

*God hath brought him to the heavenly mansions, which are guarded by Angels, and will endure for ever.

by the name of the Abbat whose long life is prayed for, to be somewhere between 680 and 691.

There are no more rhythmical hymns contained in the Antiphonarium Benchorense, beyond those above mentioned, but there remains to be mentioned one which is certainly, and four which are possibly, older than that Codex.

Cummain Fota of Clonfert, who died in 661 or 662, is the author of an hymn in honour of the Apostles. It begins with the words *Celebra Juda*, and consists of twenty-three short stanzas, of which all but the first have a refrain of *Alleluia*. A verse each is given to St. Peter, St. Paul, the eleven other Apostles, SS. Mark, Luke, Patrick, and Stephen; the omission of St. Barnabas is remarkable. Cummain had a great reputation for learning, which is borne out by the Hebrew scholarship displayed in commenting upon the proper names.

Molaisran of Leighlin—better known in Scotland as Molio of the Holy Isle in Lamlash Bay—died in 639. The Trinity College Codex contains an uncouth hymn in his honour, with one short line for every letter of the Alphabet, but that it is of a date near to his own time must be regarded as at least very problematical, especially if a prayer at the end in which he is styled *summus sacerdos* be contemporary with the rest of the composition, since the idea of his having been a bishop seems so much opposed to the known facts of his life as to postulate a considerable lapse of time for its evolution. In the text of the hymn, however, he is only called an approved abbat. Whatever be the case, the hymn is not found in the St. Isidore Codex.

This Codex, however, is peculiar in containing two hymns which are probably of the seventh century. The first of these is a short hymn beginning *Christe Qui Lux es*—‘O Christ, Who art the Light’—and evidently intended for use before retiring to rest. It contains the prayer for protection against evils in the night, which is usually found in hymns for the same occasion. It belongs to the Ambrosian school, and is, of course, attributed to Ambrose himself; but the date here suggested for it is that assigned to it by Daniel in his *Thesaurus*. The other hymn is a long composition beginning with the words

Christi, Patris in dextera. It is about the Apostles, and conveys the idea of being intended for the Feast of Pentecost, an idea supported by the fact that it contains just *fifty* lines. It is marked by the first dozen lines all ending with *a*, the second dozen with *um*, and the rest with *a*, except the 37th and 38th, which end in *o*. This appears to have been much admired, as these terminations are not, in the MS., attached to the words to which they belong, but arranged in a column at the end of the lines, running down the page.

The same frigid conceit forms the chief feature of an old Irish ABCDarian hymn in praise of Brigid, which is found written in the beginning of an antient Irish copy of the Greek Psalter, preserved at Bâle. The hymn itself is printed by Mone, (iii. 241.) and consists of 46 lines, with four more added, all ending with *a* except one which ends in *æ*. It is merely eulogistic, and that, to an extreme degree, ending with the statement that 'she hath sat down upon the throne along with the mother Mary.' It is marked by the use of Greek words, so characteristic of the oldest Irish Latinists.

Of the early part of the eighth century we possess three Latin hymns. A certain change of style now becomes perceptible, appearing, among other things, in the celebration of Saints of Scripture, a practice of which Cummain Fota seems to offer the only earlier example. One of these hymns is a prayer for the protection of the Archangel Michael, attributed to the three sons of Murchon, of whom one (Colman) is stated to have died in 731. The style strikes the present writer as showing an approach to the mediæval. An air of greater antiquity distinguishes the six verses in praise of Martin of Tours, attributed to Oengus McTipraite, who died in 745, and which enjoyed a reputation as a *lorica*.

There seems to be no doubt that the remaining poem of the three is really by Cuchuimne, who died in 742, 746, or 747, and who is unpleasantly distinguished from the other authors here noticed by the fact of a part of his career having been stained by moral obliquity, the subject of a sufficiently pungent epigram attributed to Adamnan. The somewhat un-Irish style is probably to be explained by the attainments of Cuchuimne

(which are admitted) familiarizing him with foreign compositions. This hymn is again in honour of a Scriptural personage, namely, of the Blessed Virgin, being the only one in her praise belonging to the group here discussed, but it is in itself a proof of the feeling on the subject entertained among the members of the antient Scoto-Irish churches.

Cantemus in omni die
 Concinentes varie
 Conclamantes Deo dignum
 Hymnum sanctæ Mariæ.
 Bis per chorum hinc et inde
 Collandemus Mariam
 Ut vox pulset omnem aurem
 Per laudem vicariam.
 Maria de tribu Judæ
 Summi mater Domini
 Opportunam dedit curam
 Egrotanti homini.
 Gabriel advexit verbum
 Sinu Patris paterno
 Quod conceptum et susceptum
 In utero materno.
 Hæc est summa, hæc est sancta,
 Virgo venerabilis,
 Quæ ex fide non recessit
 Sed extetit stabilis.
 Huic matri nec inventa
 Ante nec post similis,
 Nec de Prole fuit plane
 Humanæ originis.
 Per mulierem et lignum
 Mundus prius periiit,

Per mulieris virtutem
 Ad salutem rediit.
 Maria mater miranda
 Patrem suum edidit
 Per Quem aqua late lotus
 Totus mundus credidit.
 Hæc concepit Margaretam—
 Non sunt vana somnia—
 Pro qua sani Christiani
 Vendunt sua omnia.
 Tunicam per totam textam
 Christi mater fecerat,
 Quæ peracta Christi morte
 Sorte statim steterat.
 Induamus arma lucis
 Loricam et galeam
 Ut simus Deo prefecti
 Suscepti per Mariam.
 Amen, Amen, adjuramus
 Merita Puerperæ
 Ut non possit flamma pyræ
 Nos diræ decipere.
 Christi nomen invocemus
 Angelis sub testibus
 Ut fruamur et scribamur
 Litteris cœlestibus.*

* Let us sing every day in changing harmony, raising to God with one consent a worthy hymn of the holy Mary. Backward and forward, from this side of the choir and from that, let us join together in praising Mary, that the voice may strike on every ear with praise from one and the other in turn. Mary of the tribe of Judah, the Mother of the Lord Most High, hath given timely heed to sick mankind. Gabriel brought, from the fatherly breast of the Father, the Word which was conceived and received in the mother's womb. This is the excellent, this is the holy, venerable Maiden, who failed not in faith, but stood firm. Neither before her nor since hath one been found like to this Mother; nor was she [the parent] of a Child of merely human origin. The world first perished by a woman and a tree; by a woman's virtue hath it returned to health. Mary, the wondrous Mother, brought forth her own Father, and through Him all the world widely washed in water hath believed. She conceived the Pearl—these are not idle dreams—for which wise Christians sell all that they have

The 'Patrem suum editit' will remind readers of Dante of the line in the *Paradiso*—

Vergine Madre, figlia del tuo Figlio,
O Virgin Mother, daughter of Thy Son.

It is interesting to notice in this composition the evidence that the Antiphonal mode of singing was in use in the time of the writer, as also the occurrence of the well-known comparison or rather contrast, between Eve with the tree of knowledge, and Mary at the Cross, the tree of life of the Second Adam. This hymn seems to supply one of the earliest statements as to the making of the seamless garment; and, if any weight can be attached to quantities in the Latinity of this school, it is worth remarking that the writer follows some very antient examples in shortening the penultima of *Maria*. The old gloss upon this hymn is also remarkable as one of the passages showing that the reading *Stella Maris* for *Stilla Maris*, (Star-of-the-Sea for Drop-of-the-Sea) which is now found in Jerome's treatise on Hebrew names as an interpretation of the name Mary, and is apparently a corruption, was not the reading known in Ireland; the meaning given is *Stilla Maris*.

The Trinity College Codex alone contains two hymns for the Feasts of Patrick and Brigid respectively, commencing with the words *Ecce fulget clarissima Patricii solemnitas*, 'Behold, the solemn Feast-day of Patrick is shining with glorious brightness,' and *Phæbi diem fert orbita*, 'The path of Phœbus brings the day.' Neither are long, and both bear a greater resemblance to mediæval and foreign poems than to the earlier works of their own school. That in praise of Patrick is the longest, the best, and also the most national in style; but its very existence seems to point to a period when the singing of the hymn of

The Mother of Christ made the seamless garment woven from the top throughout which, when Christ's death was done, was forthwith put to lot. Let us put on the armour of light, the breast-plate and the helmet, that we may be presented to God, received through Mary. Amen, amen—we invoke the sake of her that bare, that the fire of the dread burning may not be able to take us: we call upon the name of Christ, in the presence of the Angels, that we may rejoice, and may be written in the book of heaven.

Sechnall for three days and three nights had ceased to distinguish the anniversary of the falling-on-sleep of the son of Calphurn.

It must be admitted that the interest of these poems is mainly, though by no means entirely, archæological. Some of the writers were certainly endowed with a poetical genius, but even with these, the struggle against a dead language is less successful than in the case of several continental authors, and the beauty of their compositions lies rather in the impressiveness of sincere and earnest feeling expressed with taste and simplicity. The real value of their works is chiefly in the character of monuments, not only of the prevalent beliefs and practices of their time and race, but also of the state of literary culture, among which the evidences of the study of Greek and Hebrew are not the least remarkable feature.

THE MINISTER'S MISTAKE:

TRAGIC COMMONPLACE.

WELL, yes! my life has been a long mistake;
One erring step, and it went all astray;
Yet no one much to blame, whom one could make
The scapegoat, sending him, well cursed, away;
For there was ne'er a villain in the play.

Your train goes wrong; the pointsman is a lad
Sleepy from overwork; he should have seen
The switches right, and didn't; and there's a bad
Smash on a line where you should not have been,
And screams and groans, with spurts of fire between.

Men shrug their shoulders, call it a bad job,
Pity the wounded and the widow's fate,
Yet turn from angry clamour of the mob;
There's something wrong—yes! and the grief is great,
But whose the fault? they can but watch and wait.

The system maybe? Human bone and brain
Cannot be worked as steam or iron may:
He ought not to have slept, and let the train
Rush through the dark upon its fateful way;—
But who can hold out toiling night and day?

So I look back now where my life too went
Off the right line, and came to wreck, of course;
Who was to blame? I had no ill intent,
Yet I am haunted with a vain remorse.
The system wrong? yes, it could scarce be worse.

Perhaps her mother might have been more wise,
For she had years and large experience;
But, poor and struggling, she had eager eyes
For any hap or hope of Providence
Which could be construed in a helpful sense.

It was all natural, though it has wrought
A tragic story both to her and me:
To me a joyless and a frustrate lot,
Companionless; to her the misery
Of a heart changed from what it wont to be.

You know our college ways: a lad is thrown
Upon the world, and left to sink or swim;
Lodged maybe with a widow, left alone
With a fair Hebe smiling up at him,—
What wonder if the froth swell o'er the brim?

She watched my going forth with pleasant nod,
Waited my coming home with smiling face,
Looked up to me as to a kind of god,
And made a sunshine in the dingy place
With cheerful speech and youthful tender grace.

Pretty and innocent and light of heart,
A thing to play with in an idle mood,
A dainty kitten, taking in good part

A stolen kiss, and thinking it was good,—
Thinking more gravely of it than she should.

I fancied that I loved her: it was nice
To sit together in the big arm chair,
To clasp the small round waist, and set a price
On all the kisses that she had to spare,
Or twine my fingers in her golden hair.

I was a boy, mind, and a fool, of course;
Yet it was good to love her for a day,
Might one but play with hearts: it saved from worse
Evils where other lads went on the way
Of sin, and by and by were made a prey.

She read no books, and knew not anything,
More than the bird that hops upon your thumb,
And sings, it wots not why, with quivering wing,
And looks so wisely as it picks the crumb
Out of your mouth, where it is fain to come.

We had no thoughts in common; we could talk
Of nothing but our love; and mostly I
Did all the speaking, in the evening walk,
Even of that, for she was very shy,
And conversed chiefly with a sparkling eye.

A pretty, dainty, loving little maid,
I thought her ignorance prettier than most wit,
And merrily with her mistakes I played,
And her wild spelling, when at times she writ
A silly little note, much blotting it.

So it went on through all the college days;
A dream which to be dream I partly knew,
Yet wished no waking, fain on her to gaze,
And to believe our love was fond and true,
And changeless as the stars, and fresh as dew.

But by and bye we had to part—for life
Opened to me a larger field elsewhere—
Soon to return, of course, and lead my wife
To a new home, where haply we might share
Each other's joys, each other's troubles bear.

And truly then I meant it; there was no
Guile in my heart, nor had my love waxed cold;
Only that heart as yet I did not know,
Nor wist I what the love that it could hold.
What would you? I was scarce a score years old.

And she was younger still; between us twain
Was not the wit of one; our life had been
A narrow child-life, petulant and vain,
That wist not what the deeper life could mean—
A ripple hardly stirring the Unseen.

But in that larger world ere long I saw
Another life, unfolding larger love.
That smote me with humility and awe,
Even while it lifted up my heart above
The little sphere wherein I wont to move.

I had been foolish, and it made me wise;
Selfish, and that ignoble self it slew;
A silly slave to pretty wiles and sighs;
Must I prove false now that I might be true?
Ah me! I wist not what I ought to do.

Yes, that new love had sunk a deeper shaft
Into a richer mine of life and truth,
And thinking on the old love now, I laughed
At the poor fancy of untempered youth,
Though my heart bled for her in very ruth.

What should I do? I thought at first to write:
How look into her face, and break her heart?
But then, how could I sit at home and blight

Her blossomed hope? That were a coward's part
To pierce her from afar with such a dart.

And letters have no shades, no tender tones,
No sudden inspirations to explain
The heart's misgivings; they are hard as stones,
And say not what to say we are most fain,
And seem to tell what they do not contain.

And love had taught me to be true and kind,
Thoughtful of others, come of self what may:
Best see her, tell her all is in my mind,
And leave it to her better heart to say
If we must part, or still hold on our way.

A bitter best resolve, most hard to do;
Yet it was done: I told her all the truth,
How I had changed, because at last I knew
My own heart better than in its raw youth,
When we like birds paired in a leafy booth.

It was for her to say what should be done,
Knowing this change, which was but larger growth;
I would not wrong the love that I had won,
I would not, wanton, break my plighted troth;
Yet kindly parting might be best for both.

'Twere hard for her to wed where there was not
The love that giveth all, both heart and mind;
The love that glorifies the humblest lot;—
I had done wrong, yet were it more unkind
A loving to a loveless heart to bind.

Still, if she held me to the promise given,
Now that the bitter very truth she knew,
Wed her I would, and in the sight of Heaven
I would be faithful, gentle, patient, true:
Only there was no more that I could do.

I think she would have seen that it was best
To part, and let our wounds heal by and by,
As soon they would have done, being kindly dressed,
And kept from cankering germs of ill that flye
I' th' air about, and taint our blood thereby.

But first her mother came with loud complaint,
And then the neighbours came with angry pity;—
To trifle with the heart of that sweet saint!
(They used to speak of her in phrase more gritty)
It was enough to stir up all the city.

So the storm rose and raved about the doors
Where idle women gossip in the sun;
The lodgers heard it in the upper floors,
The husbands heard it when the work was done,
And she, self-pitying, to their side was won.

Poor girl! I had not trifled with her heart
More than with my own life; I had been wrong,
Because unthinking, and had played a part
Grief-full to both; but yet to go along
On the same path, might make one grief a throng.

But she that storm of words could not outface,
And went about like one heart-stricken sore,
And smitten with the shame of a disgrace,
Which yet she flaunted somewhat at the door;
And being wronged, would have her rights the more.

Then I writ to her! Question was not here
Of law or right, whereof there was no doubt;
She had been injured, yet my heart was clear
It ne'er was right, till that had come about
Which changed, and brought its better nature out.

And I was sure this was not for her good,
And I had thought she saw it as I did,
And if she listened to her heart, it would

Tell her a loveless marriage was forbid,
And that great sorrow in its yoke was hid.

What need of more? I pleaded all in vain;
She had a lawyer whispering in her ear,
She had the women pelting her like rain,
She had her mother wailing in much fear
That health was failing, and her end was near.

So we were wedded; so our grief began:
I cannot blame myself; I tried to do
All kindly duty as a faithful man,
And to prepare her for the life I knew
We had to live, which unto her was new.

But she was changed from what she once had been;
A subtle change had touched her little mind
With a coarse strain of thought, ignoble and mean,
And I no more the simple heart could find
That was so true and trustful once and kind.

She would not learn, she would not try to rise
Nearer the level of our cultured life;
She knew she was not clever, nor very wise,
Like that bad girl—the cause of all our strife—
Who made me now ashamed of my own wife.

But she would stay at home, and let me go
To her who had my heart, as I confessed;
Better to sit in loneliness than shew
That nothing she could do but me distressed,
And feel a rival stabbing at her breast.

Idle my speaking: she had woman's wit
Enough to twist whatever I might say;
And make herself most miserable by it,
And me nigh frantic; yet when I would stay
At home with her, she sighed the live-long day.

Where all the pretty ways, the winsome smiles,
The watchful thoughtfulness for all my need,
The cheerful welcomes, and the simple wiles,
The faithful sympathy, and very greed
Of service to be done with loving speed ?

All changed : I had well-known that ill would come,
But yet I had not counted quite on this ;
I hoped that she would make a kindly home
That I could live in, even though I should miss
Keenly the love that is its perfect bliss.

But drizzle, drizzle all the sullen day,
And drip, drip all the dull complaining night,
Ne'er from her face the angry frown away,
Ne'er from her mind the bitter thought of spite,
Turning to wrong whatever I did right.

O it was hard to bear ; and not to seek
The sunshine out of doors I might have got,
Nor ever of the misery to speak,
But silently to bear a weary lot,
And do my job of work, and murmur not.

We were both changed, yet for the better I,
Because a better love had made me strong ;
No thanks to me ; but she was harmed thereby,
And by the unwise friends who led her wrong,
And by a jealous heart that brooded long.

My better angel tried what she could do,
Guessing that something was amiss, and came,
As by an inspiration sweet and true,
To cheer her solitude, and not to blame ;
But that had almost wrought worse grief and shame.

What happened I scarce know ; this only I
Heard on my coming home, that I might go
After my light-o'-loves, but she would die

Ere she such persons would consent to know ;
They must not come, and I must tell them so.

What could I say ? what could I do ? some men
Had tried some wild way so to drown their grief,
And drown their souls likewise ; but it was then
I learned to close up like the sensitive leaf,
And in a dreamland find desired relief.

I had a world then daily visited,
Where never came a mean or sordid thought,
Where birdlike songs went singing through my head,
And there were pictures no man's Art had wrought,
And no man's gold or silver could have bought.

There, as I willed it, still the sun would shine,
And never storm-cloud darkened the calm sky,
And the air made the heart as blithe as wine,
And peace was great, and love did never die,
And never grew a hate or any lie.

It was not thought : I only dropt the rein
And let the vagrant mind a drifting go
Whither it would, forgetful of its pain,
Where sunny asphodels in glory grow
On the love-haunted field of long ago.

And then I knew why poets had been given,
Who could create a world, and live therein,
Enclosing on the earth a space of heaven,
Where never entered grief nor any sin,
And they their life immortal did begin.

So in this wreck of life, I had a room
Of deep forgetfulness and visions fair,
All carpetted with snowy apple bloom,
And panelled with wrought sunbeams, and no care,
Peril or sorrow came, unbidden, there.

Around it night might gloom, and storms might fret,
And all be wild as is the wintry sea,
No glow might linger where my sun had set,
No star of hope might cleave the heaven for me,
Yet I could soar and sing there, and be free.

So it went on a while, until I saw
That dreaming is not living; that I shrank,
Unmanly, from the burden of God's law,
And that my days were barren all and blank,
Or grew but wild flowers like a thymy bank.

Now I thank God for work I have to do;
O blessed curse of labour! Thorns and briars,
How should I bear my life now but for you,
And but for moral sloughs, and stanks, and mires,
Whereon my strength is spent, and never tires?

Sometimes I think, ah! do I seek their good,
Or only shun the ills my way has wrought?
Sometimes I fall into a bitter mood,
When people praise me for the blessings brought
Into sad homes that seemed by God forgot.

They say I'm so devoted; and I think
If other saints no better are than I
God is ill served, and must try hard to wink
At what He knows to be the daily lie
Of poor self-pity fain from self to fly.

I go from house to house because I have
Nothing to call a home here of my own;
Wait on their sorrow, follow to their grave,
And yet the while my heart is like a stone,
And I despise me, to myself being known.

And partly it is right, that self-contempt,
Yet partly grief has made my heart more true;
At least, if I from grief had been exempt,
I had not felt so rightly as I do,
Nor sought to Him who maketh all things new.

WALTER C. SMITH.

THE SCOTS GUARDS IN FRANCE.

Scots Men-at-Arms and Life Guards in France. By WILLIAM FORBES-LEITH, S.J. 2 vols. Edinburgh.

I*N omni mode fidelis.* 'Ever faithful.' Such is the device, emblazoned on the standards of the famous companies whose history is contained in the volumes before us. A proud motto truly; but one fully justified by the deeds of those who bore it.

Few things can be more interesting than to trace through three hundred years the career of those brave men,—many of them, perhaps, bearing our own names—who, leaving their country, devoted themselves with unswerving fidelity to the service of a foreign king united to their nation by ancient alliance.

We are indebted to Father Forbes-Leith for these most interesting volumes, in which he has spared no pains to enable us to follow the history of the Scots Guards, from the first detachments sent to France at the request of Charles VII., till the moment when this faithful Body Guard of the French kings disappeared with the Monarchy itself, swept away by the torrent of the French Revolution.

We propose to give a slight sketch of this curious and valuable book; making free use, with this object, of the author's own words. But we feel how inadequately any such attempt can represent the stores of research and learning contained in these volumes. We must refer the reader also to the original work itself, to gain a just idea of the various etchings, beautiful in themselves, and historically interesting, which illustrate its pages.

To understand the reason that led so many of our countrymen to devote their services to a foreign land, we must revert to the ancient alliance between France and Scotland. Some historians trace this back as far as to the days of Charlemagne; but, however gratifying this may be to our national pride, and though, no doubt, there are records of friendship between the two countries from early days, there seems no reason to suppose that any permanent alliance existed before the time of the Wars of Independence in Scotland, and the contemporary claims of the English kings to the French Crown. In these two historical facts we may look for the source of that sympathy which drew the two countries together. But this alliance, springing from a common hatred of England, does not come prominently into notice, as regards our present purpose, until the year 1418, when France, in her hour of greatest danger, appealed to Scotland for help.

It would be impossible to imagine a more complete scene of anarchy than that presented by France under Charles VI. To the confusion arising from the disasters of Poitiers and Agincourt must be added the distracted state of the government. The nobles, headed by the queen and court, taking advantage of the mental infirmities of Charles himself, indulged in every species of unbridled luxury; whilst the wretched peasantry, meanwhile, were ground down by cruel and unjust taxes. The whole country was in a state of utter lawlessness; the population seemed frenzied; so that, to quote the words of the *Chroniques de Saint Denys*; 'Treading under foot the fear of God and man, they swept over the land with the fury of a tempest; their only thought was of plunder, fire, and bloodshed.'

Such was the condition of France when Henry V. of England landed in Normandy, on August the first, 1417; and, meeting with no opposition, marched inland, taking every town on his road. With all speed Charles the Dauphin now tried to raise an army. This was no easy matter; for, though there were marshals and constables of France, there were but few troops to command.

It was in this great strait that Charles turned for assistance to Scotland.

'Reduced to the lowest ebb by his own rebellious subjects, Charles sent

ambassadors to all the Princes in alliance with France to ask for aid, and particularly to Scotland; trusting that from the ancient alliance with that country he might the more readily expect effective assistance. Towards the end of 1418, Charles the Dauphin sent ambassadors to the Scottish Court craving the aid of Scotland against King Henry.'

A Parliament was assembled; and it was decided by Robert Stewart, Duke of Albany and Regent of Scotland, to send into France a large force under the command of his second son, Sir John Stewart, Earl of Buchan, Archibald Douglas, Earl of Wigtown, and Sir John Stewart of Darneley, who appear to have been selected by the Dauphin himself. The transport vessels were to be furnished by France. The King of Castile, with the Infant of Arragon, allies of the Scots, had promised to fit out forty ships. On the 22nd of July, 1419, Henry V. received information of these preparations from the town authorities of Bayonne; and on the 12th of August the Duke of Bedford received orders to intercept the Scots. But the order arrived too late; for, by the 17th of May, Sir William Douglas had already landed in France with 150 men-at-arms and 300 archers. By the 26th of August we find him stationed with his troops at Puiset in Beauce. He had under his command Sir Thomas Kilpatrick, William Fresal, John Tod, Thomas Cunyngham, John Ofur, David Fleming, John of Meldrum, Andry of Meldrum, Alexander de Alexandry and William Flocart. Each of these captains commanded a body of men-at-arms and archers. Thomas Seton and his brother, each at the head of a company, were conspicuous amongst the most faithful followers of the Dauphin. Thomas received at the hands of Charles the estate of Langeais, and was appointed to accompany him wherever he went. The Earl of Buchan embarked later with a body of troops numbering 6000 men. The Spanish fleet landed this army at La Rochelle, in September, 1419.

'These troops were thoroughly trained soldiers, who had been hardened in long and bloody wars for national freedom. All were accoutred in the order of Scottish armour and arms, which, by the laws of that period, were plate-mail from head to heel for every man possessed of land yielding an annual rent of £20. with battle-axe, two handed sword, and iron mace, or spear. Persons of inferior rank, worth only £10 of yearly rent, or £50 in

goods, had to provide themselves with helmet and gorget, vambrace, rere-brace, coslet, and greaves.'

This invasion, Father Forbes remarks, was truly a great achievement. In those days it was no easy matter for some 6000 or 7000 troops to pass from Scotland to France in carracks and row-galleys, which for sea-worthiness were little better than rafts, and which ran great risk of capture by English cruisers. These difficulties were much increased by the fact that La Rochelle was the only port at which they could attempt to land. Buchan reached France shortly after the murder of the Duke of Burgundy. The Dauphin was unjustly suspected of being accessory to his death. Popular feeling had risen against him; and Henry of England was, in consequence, acknowledged in many cities as heir to the crown.

Our space will not allow us to follow the whole course of the struggle between Charles and Henry; interesting though it would be to trace each step of the first Scotch auxiliaries. That Charles highly prized his northern allies is certain; for shortly afterwards we find him applying for further reinforcements. Accordingly, Sir John Stewart of Darneley, landed at La Rochelle, in 1421, with some 4000 or 5000 men; and, marching inland, was welcomed by Charles at Poitiers. Soon after this was fought the battle of Baugé, the first great battle in which the Scots took part. Under the command of the Earls of Buchan and Wigtown, they fought valiantly; and it was to them in great part that Charles owed his victory.

'The two armies were separated by a rapid river, crossed by a narrow bridge. On the 23rd of March the Scottish General had sent a detachment, commanded by Sir John Stewart of Darneley and the Sire de Fontaines, to reconnoitre. This troop, coming upon the English unawares, fell back, in time to warn Buchan of the approach of the Duke of Clarence. Happily he had a short time to make ready for an advance, whilst Sir Robert Stewart of Railston and Sir Hugh Kennedy kept the bridge with a small advanced corps, over which the Duke of Clarence with his best officers tried to force a passage, having left the great bulk of the army to follow as best they could. The effects of this manœuvre were, by a strange coincidence, the same as at the battle of Stirling, where Wallace defeated Surrey and Cressingham. The Duke of Clarence, conspicuous by the golden crown surmounting his helmet, and by his gorgeous armour, was first attacked.

vigorously by John Kirkmichael, who broke his lance on him. Then wounded in the face by William Swinton ; at last brought to the ground, and killed by a blow of a mace by the Earl of Buchan. The bravest of his knights and men-at-arms fell with him. The Earl of Somerset was taken prisoner by Lawrence Vernor, a Scot ; and his brother by Sir John Stewart of Darneley ; the Earl of Huntingdon by John Sibbald, a Scotch knight ; and the Sire de Fewalt by Henry Cunningham. The rest, furious at the disaster, rushed to the bridge to take revenge ; but were killed or taken prisoners, as they arrived, by the Scots. According to Monstrelet, two or three thousand English lay dead on the spot. Bower limits the number who fell to 1617. The honour of having killed the Duke of Clarence has been claimed by various competitors. According to Chastelaire, he was slain by Charles Le Boutellier, a French knight ; Father Anselme says that Gilbert de la Fayette killed him *by his own hand*. A Scotch author claims, less absolutely, this honour for John Kirkmichael, Chaplain of Lord Douglas, who was afterwards made Bishop of Orleans by Charles VII. in reward for his good services. "John Kirkmichael," says this author, "broke a spear on the Duke of Clarence." Another Scotsman, Sir John Swinton de Swinton, according to an old tradition, "unhorsed the Duke, and wounded him in front." "The Earl of Buchan," so continues the tradition, "killed the Prince with one blow of his sword." But the merit of the victory belongs to the brave Swinton. The last Swinton de Swinton presented to Sir Walter Scott the point of the weapon with which his ancestor accomplished the deed of prowess. The lance of Swinton is still to be seen in the collection of antiquities at Abbotsford."

As might have been expected, the Scots were, at first, regarded with dislike and contempt by the French people. Owing to their habits of enforced abstemiousness at one time, and the excesses in which they indulged at others, they were denounced to Charles as *sacs à vin et mangeurs de mouton*. Charles paid but little heed to these murmurs ; but, after the battle of Baugé, he summoned the accusers before him, and said :—"What think you now of these Scots mutton eaters and wine-bags ?" "The malcontents," says the quaint chronicle, "as if they had been struck with a hammer on the head, knew not what to reply."

It was after this first important battle that Charles conferred the greatest honour in the kingdom on Buchan, by making him Constable of France. To this high mark of favour, he added, we are told, a curious present, an astrologer, 'Master Germain de Thibonville, doctor of medicine and sovereign astrologer ;' who seems immediately to have predicted the deaths of Charles VI.

and Henry V. On Sir John Stewart of Darneley was bestowed the seigneurie of Concessaut in Berry. Laurence Vernor received the lands of Montreuil-Bonnin in ransom for his prisoner, the Earl of Somerset. These and various rewards, bestowed on others of the officers, were but the first of a series of what we may term the magnificent gifts and honours lavished on the Scots by successive French kings. Verily, if our countrymen were faithful and true in their services to the foreign masters they had voluntarily chosen, they met with constant gratitude and substantial proofs of consideration in return.

Henry V., after a temporary absence in England, returned to France at this period, forcing his prisoner, James I. of Scotland, to accompany him. He hoped, no doubt, that the near presence of their lawful king would be an inducement to the Scots to desert the cause of France. The result was very different. Even when a message was delivered from James himself to Buchan, commanding him to leave Charles' service, Buchan merely replied; that, as long as his sovereign was a prisoner in the hands of strangers, he did not consider that he was bound to obey him. This answer highly incensed Henry; and it was observed that from this time he affected to look on the Scots as rebels, and showed his hatred by severe measures taken on more than one occasion with the Scotch prisoners.

In the autumn of 1422, both Henry of England and Charles VI. of France died. The Duke of Bedford took measures at once to have the infant Henry VI. proclaimed King of France; and Charles' prospects of succeeding to his father's kingdom seemed as dark as ever. He lost no time in applying for fresh troops from Scotland. They reached France the following year, 1423; and, a few months later, was fought the battle of Cravant, disastrous to the French and Scots. The latter fought bravely to the end, though deserted by their leaders and the other mercenary troops. Three thousand Scots were left dead on the field; and, among them, we note the names of Sir Thomas Seton, Sir John Halibourton, Sir William Hamilton, and Sir William Coningham.

After this defeat, Charles sent the Earl of Buchan and other noblemen to Scotland, with a large number of ships. The Scottish envoys induced Archibald, second Earl of Douglas, to

engage in the French service; and accordingly he reached France, after many perils, early in 1424, at the head of 10,000 men-at-arms. He joined the Court at Bourges, and Charles immediately appointed him lieutenant-general of his armies, and bestowed on him the duchy of Touraine for himself and his male heirs for ever. Douglas, however, was not long to enjoy his new dignities. He lost his life in the great battle which took place under the walls of Verneuil; a day of defeat and loss to the French, and of great slaughter to their Scotch adherents, to whom no quarter was given by the English.

This engagement is of especial interest to us, as it was after it that Charles gave the strongest proof of his complete trust in the Scots, by assigning to them the care of his royal person.

That there was even in the previous century a body of Scots archers attached to the king's service, called *Les Gardes de la Manche*, seems to be certain; but we know nothing of their origin, and Father Forbes considers that we may place at this date, 1425, the first formation of the famous Scots Guard; although they were not definitely organised till 1445.

Among the Scots slain at Verneuil were John Stewart, Earl of Buchan, son-in-law to the great Douglas, Sir Walter de Bekirtoune, Sir William de Setoune, Sir Alexander Meldrym, and other knights of fame. After some years had passed, a Frenchman, who had fought at Verneuil, and had afterwards become a hermit, visited the field of battle. He had it blessed, and caused a chapel to be erected, after collecting the bones of the slain. In 1426, the States of Dauphiné founded a perpetual service in remembrance of the battle, in the Abbey of St. Antoine de Viennois. This service was known by the name of the Mass of Verneuil.

During the next three years we read of no fresh reinforcements from Scotland. But in 1428, Charles sent the Archbishop of Rheims and Sir John Stewart of Darneley to James I., to implore fresh assistance, and to beg the hand of the Princess Margaret for the Dauphin Louis. Both these proposals were favourably received, and King James promised to furnish his ally with 6000 men-at-arms; and engaged to send his daughter to France in the following spring.

The date of 1428 marks the darkest period of the reign of

Charles VII; and we may well ask what would have been the fate of France had not an unlooked for and providential occurrence turned the tide of events.

One of the most interesting chapters of Father Forbes' book is that in which he treats of the glorious share of the Scotch soldiers in the defence of Orleans and of their connection with Joan of Arc. At the time of the siege the see of Orleans was filled by John Kirkmichael, who, more fortunate than so many of his countrymen, had escaped at Verneuil and had been raised to the bishopric by Charles, in recognition of the services rendered to France by the Scots. It is natural to suppose that he encouraged many of his own nation to flock to Orleans; and we are told that previous to the siege the Scots with the bishop at their head fortified the town. During the siege the Scots distinguished themselves by their gallantry. Among them we find special mention of Sir John Stewart, Sir William Douglas of Drumlanrig, Sir William Douglas de Kyross, and Sir Hugh de Kennedy. The two Douglasses who were brothers, both curiously bearing the same christian name, were killed in repelling an assault of the enemy, and were buried in front of the high altar in the church of Sainte Croix. Father Forbes gives us a graphic account of the battle of Rouvray St. Denis, fought at some distance from the walls of Orleans; an engagement fatal to the French, and in which the Scots and men of Orleans suffered great losses. Among the slain were John and William Stewart; one brother having lost his life in attempting to save the other on the field of battle. They were buried in the cathedral church of Orleans, in the Chapel of Notre Dame Blanche. John Stewart, aware of the dangers that surrounded him, had made his will, and left money for a mass to be said in this chapel every day. His wife, who had been with him throughout the siege, followed him to the grave before the year was out.

On hearing of the defeat of Rouvray, Charles, considering that he had now no hopes of preserving his kingdom, was on the point of leaving it. One morning, when indulging in these sad reflections, he entered his oratory, 'and there,' says a contemporary writer, 'he made a humble request and prayer to our Lord within his heart, without using a word, and begged that, if he really

were the rightful heir and descendant of the noble House of France, and if the kingdom were his by right, He would be pleased to guard and defend him, or at the worst permit him to escape without death or imprisonment, and to fly to Spain, or to the land of the Scots, who had, from time immemorial, been brothers in arms and allies of the kings of France.'

But better days were in store for Charles and France; and the change was wrought by one who, though a weak woman, was endowed with heroism superior even to that of the many brave men who surrounded Charles.

Joan of Arc, from the first, seems to have looked to the Scots as especially likely to aid her in her work; and we find her acting in concert with them on several important occasions. It was accompanied by Scotch troops, with Sir Patrick O'Gilvy at their head, that she made her way into the beleaguered city, and after one short week raised the siege which had lasted seven months. In gratitude for their deliverance the inhabitants of Orleans, with Joan of Arc and Bishop Kirkmichael at their head, went from church to church to thank God. This was the origin of a procession which continued to take place for centuries in remembrance of the Maid of Orleans; a mark of veneration to her who, in its moment of greatest danger, saved her country. When Charles at last yielded to Joan's earnest persuasions, and consented to be crowned at Rheims, many of the Scots officers accompanied him, and attended the ceremony. Among them were Sir Patrick O'Gilvy, Sir Gilbert de la Haye, and Sir Christin de la Chambre, with the archers of the Guard. John Kirkmichael, Bishop of Orleans and peer of France, was one of the consecrating prelates. Joan's mission was now nearly ended; but it is interesting to see that, shortly before she was taken prisoner, she was again in action with the Scots troops.

'Unwilling to remain a witness of the King's futile efforts to recover his crown, Joan determined to join those who were willing to fight. One day, therefore, without wishing adieu to the King, she set out, pretending to be going "to some sport;" and on the 16th of April, 1430, arrived at Lagny-sur-Marne. "There she knew to be men who made good war against the English." They were Scotch troops, commanded by Sir Hugh Kennedy, who had already fought by her side at Orleans and Patay. After defeating a body of English troops in August, 1429, he had occupied Lagny, and

made it a stronghold. The English, to the number of 200 or 400, were devastating the country all around. They were on their return with their booty when Joan received information of their whereabouts. Taking a body of cavalry, about equal in number, she set out and cut them off. The English dismounted, and took up position behind a hedge; but Joan and her troop assailed them on foot and horseback, and cut them to pieces. A few days after this, Joan was taken prisoner before Compiègne, and transferred to Arras. At Arras a Scotchman showed her a portrait of herself which he bore on his person, a symbol of the veneration which her faithful companions had vowed to her. A Scotchman, perhaps the same, followed the Maid of Orleans during the whole of her wonderful career. After being present at her death he returned to his native country, and became a monk in the Abbey of Dunfermline. At the request of his abbot, he continued Fordun's "*Scotichronicon*," and it bore witness to the "marvellous Maid who brought about the recovery of the kingdom of France, . . . whom I saw and knew, and in whose company I was present, during her endeavours for the said recovery, up to her life's end."

By putting to death Joan of Arc, remarks Father Forbes, the Duke of Bedford terminated the English ascendancy in France. John Theissart, Notary of King Henry the VI., exclaimed after witnessing her execution—"We are all lost men; for a saintly woman has perished." From that day the nationality of France revived.

In the spring of 1436, the Princess Margaret of Scotland reached France, and joining the King at Tours, was there married to the Dauphin Louis; an unhappy alliance, and one ending in the early and tragic death of the bride.

The Scots Guards followed Charles in his final encounters with the English till the truce was signed, and France had an interval of peace after her long struggle. Charles turned these moments of comparative tranquillity to good account by devoting himself to the important work of forming his army; and it is from this period, 1445, which saw the first permanent and regular organization of the French armies, that we date the definite establishment of the two famous Scotch companies known as *Les Gendarmes Ecosais* (Scots Men-at-Arms) and *La Compagnie Ecosaise de la Garde du Corps du Roi* (the Scots Royal Life Guards.)

Speaking of these honours bestowed on the Scots, Louis XII. solemnly declares that 'the institution of the Scots Men-at-Arms

and Scots Life Guards was an acknowledgment of the service the Scots rendered to Charles the Seventh in reducing France to his obedience, and of the great loyalty and virtue which he found in them.'

Soon after this, the loyalty of the Scotch regiments was put to the test. Louis, a worthless son, as well as a bad husband, intrigued against his father, and endeavoured to bribe the Scots; but his efforts were vain; and, the treachery being discovered, Louis was banished from the King's presence.

On the 24th of May, 1449, one of the English captains openly broke the truce by taking possession of Fougères in Brittany. Charles in consequence marched into Normandy; and Verneuil, Nantes, and many other cities surrendered to him. At the siege of Rouen, the Scots, commanded by Robert Cunningham, distinguished themselves; and after his victory Charles entered the city in state accompanied by the Scots Guards 'sumptuously equipped; Archers and Crossbowmen about 120, more gorgeously clad than the rest. They wore jackets without sleeves, red, white, and green, covered with gold embroidery, with plumes on their helms of the same colours, and with their swords and leg harness richly mounted in silver.' The Scots took part likewise in the sieges of Bayeux and Caen.

But here we must pause to consider the one act of treachery recorded of the Scots Guards. Bribed by the English, Robert, or Robin Campbell, William Cunningham, Robert Johnston, and James Haliburton, became involved in a plot to deliver up to the enemy the Count Dunois, Lord de Villequier, and two others. The meditated crime was discovered; and the accused were brought to trial. Robert Campbell was declared guilty of high treason, and was sentenced to immediate death. The other prisoners were remanded pending further enquiries. Meanwhile Robert Cunningham seems to have been unjustly suspected of being an accomplice, and he also had to stand his trial. He belonged to a good Scotch family; and King James exerted himself on his behalf, and wrote to the King of France. His letter has been preserved; and we gather from it that James considers the arrest as due to the wicked and calumnious accusations of jealous enemies. At the same time a petition was

addressed to Charles by twelve Scotch noblemen, in which they set forth the services rendered by Cunningham both to Scotland and to France, and conclude with a challenge in the name of the Scotch nobility, all the signers undertaking to maintain his honour in personal combat. It certainly seems probable that Cunningham was falsely accused; as a contemporary French chronicler states that during the whole war in Normandy he behaved most nobly and honourably; and later on we find him entrusted with the command of the Scots Guards by Louis XI., a sure proof that that suspicious monarch considered him loyal.

Normandy and Guienne having now returned to their allegiance, only the cities of Calais and Guines remained in the possession of the English. Charles, however, lived but a short time to enjoy his hardly won victory. He expired on July the 22nd, 1461, his death causing great grief to his faithful Scots, whose lamentations are thus quaintly described by Martial of Paris:—

‘ Les Gens et serviteurs pleuroient
A chaudes larmes fondamment,
Et les Escossoys hault crioient
Par forme de gémissement.’

It might have been expected that Louis XI., on his accession, would have dispensed with the services of the Scots Guards, remembering how they had resisted his offers and bribes at an earlier date. But no doubt he saw in this very incorruptibility his own greatest safeguard; and that he did not trust in vain is proved by the fact that the Scots saved his life on more than one occasion. They fought bravely by his side in the struggles with the revolted nobles, and in the war with Burgundy. At Montlhéry several Scotch officers were killed; and after the battle the remainder of the Guards, ‘considering the danger that the king was in, and the great loss that they had sustained, and finding that the Burgundians were still pursuing those squadrons they had already broken, took his Majesty, who had been in arms all day without eating and drinking, and was much fatigued and dispirited, and carried him safe to the castle.’

When Louis, following his usual crooked policy, strove to raise the Liégeois against the Duke of Burgundy to aid his own cause, Robert Cunningham was despatched to confer with them; the

king himself repairing to Peronne with his guard to meet the Duke. Throughout that time of danger to Louis, when Charles, justly incensed by his guest's treachery, thought of putting him to death, the Guards showed their fidelity: and Commynes does not fail to note their gallant behaviour. The perils, from which he so narrowly escaped, caused Louis to think of increasing the number of his guard. Accordingly in 1474 he established a new company of a hundred guardsmen, to which none were admitted save those who could furnish proofs of good descent. We find at this time among Louis's counsellors the Bishop of Aberdeen, Sir William Monipeny, and Patrick Flockart who had commanded the Life Guards under Charles VII. Sir William Monipeny and his son rose to great favour under Louis, and their services were rewarded by the lands of Villa and Aubin. Alexander Monipeny was likewise appointed steward of the Royal Palace.

At one moment, yielding to Louis's solicitations, James III. of Scotland proposed going over to France at the head of 6000 men to aid the French king in crushing the power of Burgundy; but the Estates interfered to prevent the expedition, showing the king that 'he had enough to do at home, and commenting on the questionable dealings of King Louis with regard to the countship of Saintonge,' which was to have been made over to Scotland on his marriage with the Princess Margaret. Thus the idea was abandoned. In his declining years Louis seems to have relied more and more on his Scots Guards; and it was to them he entrusted his son on his death-bed.

The reign of Charles VIII. was a stirring time for our Scots. Immediately on coming to the throne the king sent Bernard Stewart of Aubigny to Scotland, to conclude a fresh treaty confirming the alliance between the two countries. The treaty was signed in Edinburgh by James III., 1483. Two years later, Stewart was, by the command of Charles, engaged, with many Scotch recruits, on the side of the Earl of Richmond at the battle of Bosworth. After the accession of Richmond to the throne as Henry VII., and the consequent peace between the two countries, Charles turned his thoughts to the fulfilment of his visionary schemes on Italy. During the long wars that lasted throughout his reign and those of his two successors, Louis XII. and Francis

I., we find the Scotch regiments actively engaged in upholding the honour of France. On September the 8th, 1494, Charles entered Italy; and after a progress, which reads more like a festive procession than the advance of a foreign army, entered Florence on November the 18th, at the head of his troops. He was surrounded by his Scots Guards, whom a contemporary writer thus describes:—

‘Nearest the King march twenty-five Scots archers, denominated Life-guardsmen, arrayed in white jerkins embroidered with gold from top to bottom, and wearing a crown on the breast. Now the above-mentioned archers are under the orders of my Lord Stewart of Aubigny, and are quartered nearest the King’s chambers. My Lord Stewart of Aubigny has under his orders all the other Scots-guardsmen, as well as 100 men-at-arms not entered in the guard Muster Roll; and the aforesaid Scots, as soon as it is dark, and when the officer has retired with his archers, mount guard, while the captain of the 100 guardsmen (not the officer in command of the twenty-five Life-guardsmen) goes to fetch the keys.’

When the king left Florence and entered Rome on December 31st, his guards were again the object of much attention. There as on other occasions they guarded not only the first door, but all the doors giving access to the king’s lodgings.

It would take us too long to follow the whole campaign in Italy and Spain, and we must content ourselves by mentioning the chief actions in which our countrymen distinguished themselves. At Seminara, Bernard Stewart at the head of the Scots Men-at-Arms, gained a complete victory over the Spaniards under Gonzalvo de Cordova; but suffering from fever he was unable to follow up his victory. For a whole year, though ill, and lacking both money and supplies, he defended Calabria against Gonzalvo; but at length, overpowered by the superior number of his foes, and deserted by his sovereign, he signed a capitulation which allowed him to return to France with his few remaining troops. On reaching the French court Stewart was rewarded for his services by the collar of the Order of St. Michel.

Soon afterwards in the prime of life Charles died suddenly; an event which caused throughout his kingdom general sorrow, in which the Scots in particular joined so heartily that, as we are told by more than one historian, an archer and a butler of the guard died of grief. Louis XII. was as anxious to assert his

claims to the crowns of Sicily as his predecessor had been; and in 1499 he invaded Italy with an army of 20,000 men, half of whom he placed under the command of Stewart of Aubigny, who 'continued to serve France as zealously as the brave honourable prudent knight had done since the reign of Charles VIII.' After subduing Lombardy and taking Genoa, Stewart was ordered to invade the kingdom of Naples. Success at first crowned his efforts; but the Spaniards, having obtained large reinforcements, marched to meet the invaders, and the two armies met in conflict, April the 24th, 1503, between Gioia and Seminara. After a hard struggle the victory remained with the Spaniards. Though far outnumbered by their foes the Scots refused to yield or fly. Three hundred and six men-at-arms, and sixty archers, met their death. Their gallant standard-bearer, Turnbull, was found dead on the field, grasping his lance with his hand, while he held his much loved banner with his teeth. Six of his own clan lay dead beside him. It was noticed that, wherever a Scotch corpse was discovered, one or two Spaniards were stretched near. Stewart, reduced almost to despair by this disastrous defeat, tried in vain to rally the French fugitives, but they did not recognise him, and continued to fly. Some wounded officers, who alone remained on the field, endeavoured to persuade him to accompany them. 'No!' cried the brave veteran, 'rather let me die by the hands of the enemy than return to my friends like a vanquished fugitive.' They, however, at length prevailed on him to retire to the citadel of Angistola, to which Gonzalvo laid siege; and at the end of a month, having no further ammunition or provisions, Stewart was obliged to capitulate.

After these reverses Aubigny returned to France, and was sent by Louis as ambassador to Scotland, where James IV. received him with honour. This was his second embassy to his own land; and yet once again he was to represent France at the court of his own natural sovereign. Anxious, no doubt, to secure James as his ally in his action against Venice, Louis in 1508 despatched Stewart to the Scotch court with a train of eighty horse. In providing him thus honourably, the king seems to have been actuated by James' wishes, who was not only personally attached to Stewart, but had a great respect for his reputation as a warrior.

Stewart was received with every mark of attention in Scotland ; tournaments were held in his honour, and verses composed by a contemporary poet to celebrate his arrival. But he was already in very feeble health ; and these well deserved honours served but to console his last days. Never again was he to see France, the country of his adoption. Worn out by his long and arduous career, he died at Corstorphine early in June, after directing that his heart should be sent to the shrine of St. Ninian in Galloway. He was buried, as appears by his will, in the Church of the Blackfriars in Edinburgh. Brantôme tells us that he was known as the 'Chevalier sans reproche ;' and Dunbar, who had so joyfully greeted his arrival shortly before, gives us the following touching lines on his death.

'Pray now for him, all that him loveit heir !
And for his saull mak intercessioun
Unto the Lord, that hes him bocht so deir,
To gif him mercie and remissioun ;
And namelie We of Scottis natioun,
In till his lyff quhom most he did affy,
Foryett we nevir in to our Orisoun
To pray for him, the Flour of Chevalrie.'

We have lingered with pleasure over the details that have come down to us of Bernard Stewart, as he seems to stand forth as a representative type of what surely must have been the career and characteristics of many of his countrymen, of whom, unfortunately for us, history has left no record. While their aged commander was peacefully ending his life far away, his gallant soldiers were winning fresh laurels in Lombardy. Louis had placed Robert Stewart at their head ; and after the campaign raised him to the dignity of marshal. Stewart seems to have had great influence with the king. It was owing, we are told, to his solicitations that Louis, to show his favour to the Scots who had made their habitation in France, issued the decree exempting them from requiring letters of naturalisation, and giving them the right of devising property and inheriting and holding benefices as if they were Frenchmen. The king gave another proof of his trust in the Scots, just before his death, by making Marshal Stewart, and his lieutenant, John Stewart, swear to execute his last will. The marshal swore that he and his 100 archers would fulfil this pro-

mise at the risk of their lives. One of the dignitaries of the court of France at this date also leaves the following testimony to the fidelity of the guard. 'For so long a time as they have served in France, never hath there been one of them found that hath committed any fault against the kings or their state, and they can make use of them as of their own subjects.'

Throughout the reign of Francis I. the Scots held high position in France, and were by his side at the victory of Marignano, and again on the fatal day of Pavia, where their brave conduct could not prevent their royal master from being taken prisoner. In happier days, the Scots Men-at-arms distinguished themselves at the battle of Landrecies; and the following year they greatly contributed to the victory of Cerisola, where, led by the Duke of Enghien, they twice broke the Spanish ranks. This was Francis' last battle; he died in 1547, after signing the peace of Ardres.

The middle of the sixteenth century is the period at which we first perceive symptoms of a decline in the friendship between France and Scotland. The death of Cardinal Beaton was the first blow received by this alliance; and although, for a time, the marriage (eagerly promoted by France) between Mary of Scotland and the Dauphin seemed a fresh link to bind the two nations more closely together, there were elements at work which were eventually to destroy the sympathy that had existed so long. The chief thought of Henry II. at this time appears to have been to incorporate Scotland with France; a proposition naturally resented by his allies. In addition to this, the conduct of the French troops in Scotland, and the exactions of French agents in that country, were occasioning a bitter feeling of antagonism among the people. Thus the breach gradually widened; but this general feeling of discontent does not seem to have affected the existence or influenced the conduct of the French regiments. Indeed, in addition to the Guards and Men-at-arms, we find mention at about this time of several fresh companies, which joined the French service, and assisted in the war with Charles V. Among their commanders are the names of Reyman Cockburn, John Clavers, Cunningham, Mons, and Doddes.

It is a curious fact that Henry, who relied so much upon his Scotch auxiliaries, and was served by them with unfaltering

fidelity, was yet to lose his life by the hand of one of their countrymen. At the fatal tournament at which the king was to receive his death-wound, Gabriel Montgomery, son of the captain of the guard, was his third antagonist. Henry, after running two courses, the first with the Duke of Savoy, and the second with the Duke of Guise, and having acquitted himself with his usual prowess, engaged with Montgomery; and in the first encounter received so violent a shock as almost to lose his saddle. It was now the turn of one of the French officers to enter the lists with the king; but Henry interposed his royal authority, and commanded Montgomery to make a fresh trial in the place of Monsieur de Villeville. Montgomery reluctantly obeyed; and on the second occasion was even more unfortunate than on the first. His broken lance struck the king on the head; and a splinter, entering above the eye, inflicted so severe a wound that he remained almost without consciousness. He was conveyed to his chamber at the Tournelles near at hand, and there, after lingering ten days, died. No proceedings were taken against Montgomery; but we are not surprised to find that he had no wish to remain at court after the terrible event of which he was the innocent cause. He accordingly retired to his property in Normandy. He afterwards visited England, and there embraced Calvinism; and on his return to France became one of the commanders of the Protestant party. After several years he was taken prisoner at the siege of Domfront, and being carried to Paris, was executed in the Place de Grève, May, 1574.

Brightly as the reign of Francis II. seemed to dawn on the prospects of a closer union between the two countries, these hopes were so soon blighted by the king's early death, that these few months have left but scanty records which can lend an additional interest to the history of the Scots Guards in France.

During the first ten years after the accession of Charles IX. to the throne, France was in a state of such complete anarchy, and the historians of the period were so entirely occupied with the dangers that threatened the country, that we must not expect many incidents relating to the Scots. It is satisfactory, however, to perceive among the names of Charles' loyal followers those of John Gordon, Lord of Glenluce, Peter Aliday,

Maxville de Lovat, and Claude Stewart. But their influence was not sufficiently powerful to prevent the Royal Council from proposing at this time to disband the companies of Scotch Cavalry, despite the great esteem in which they were held by the French nobles, and the high praise which their services had won in the late war. The Protestant leaning shown by many of the Scots, especially by James, Earl of Arran, then commander of the Men-at-arms, had doubtless much to do with this proposed change. It shortly after took effect; and the body of the Men-at-arms ceased to exist.

Under Henry III. many Scotch Catholics flocked to France; and we find Queen Mary commending them to the favour of Cardinal de Lorraine, and Henry himself urging them to take refuge in his kingdom. The king, whilst apologising to Lord Seton for not re-establishing the company of the Men-at-arms, promises to maintain the Scots Guards in all their privileges; and mentions them in terms of high esteem and praise.

The Scots Guards were the first to salute Henry of Navarre as their sovereign; and throughout his reign their ancient glory revived. The alliance with Scotland was also strengthened; and it was with the aid of the troops sent by James VI. that Henry was able to subdue the revolted nobles, and to secure his hold on the French throne. He conferred even higher privileges on the Guard than those granted by any previous monarch, and continued to all the Scots in France 'the graces and privileges whereof they have rendered themselves worthy, through the affection and fidelity which they have borne this crown.' Henry also took steps to reorganise the company of Men-at-Arms. He desired to make the Duke of Lennox their commander, and entered into negotiations with James VI. for that purpose; but for a time the project fell into abeyance. Henry had a faithful memory for old friends; and when Lord Colville, who had served under him, revisited France in his old age, the king received him with every mark of affection. The courtiers meanwhile, as we are told, looked on with amazement at the old fashioned equipment of the good old man.

The time had now gone by when France and Scotland could claim the same interests, and consider England as a common foe.

James VI. of Scotland now filled the English throne, and the two nations were one. The French felt that the ancient alliance could no longer be continued; and realising, and, perhaps, resenting the new condition of things, began to show less consideration towards the Scotch regiments.

Soon after the accession of Louis XIII., the Guards had reason to complain of certain points of forfeiture of rank and breach of privilege. Their captain, De Nerestan, himself a Frenchman, showed undue favour to his own countrymen; and the company, which should have been wholly Scotch, was now two-thirds French. In consequence of these and other grievances against their commander, the Scots, finding they could get no redress, sent a petition to James VI. praying him to intercede at the French court on their behalf. But this step so enraged De Nerestan and the chief French ministers that even James' endeavours were fruitless; and when Lord Colvill of Culross, to whom the king had entrusted the mission, came to Paris, 'a great minister' plainly told him 'that France could no longer consider them as they were, viz., Scottes, but English; and therefore were determined to extinguish them.' Unluckily at this moment an incident occurred which did not tend to calm the hostile feeling towards the Scots. One of the Guard, a Douglas, was murdered, from motives of jealousy, by a Frenchman. His brother sought to be revenged; and in company of a young man named Drummond, assaulted and almost killed the author of the crime, after which they fled the country. A Scotch gentleman named Robert Douglas had witnessed the scene, although taking no part in the affair. It seems that he had previously incurred the displeasure of the government, by aiding to write a statement put forward by the Guards pointing out their grievances. The authorities therefore determined to make an example of him; and, this being considered a good opportunity, he was thrust into prison on accusation of having taken part in the affray. Notwithstanding the exertions of the English ambassador, and of several great French noblemen, Douglas was condemned and executed. Another Scotsman was about the same time accused of treason and beheaded, though declared innocent in the memorial addressed to the king

and council by James VI. After these events James wrote to King Louis insisting on the restoration of the Guards to their original number and privileges, and should his request be refused, discharging them from continuing to be embodied under the name of the Scots Company. The Guards, however, were maintained; and, shortly after, steps were taken to bring about the restoration of the Men-at-arms. This is proved by a petition to James, dated Edinburgh, 1623, and signed by the Lords of the Privy Council. In the same year, Lord Gordon, Earl of Enzie, was sent to France to press the matter; and shortly before the death of Louis, his letters patent ordering the re-establishment of the Men-at-arms were delivered in London. The Duke of Gordon was made commander; but, as he died soon after, his nephew, Lord Gordon, succeeded him. It was thus that this post of honour, which had been filled for generations by the families of Lennox and Aubigny, passed to that of Gordon, with whom it remained till the final dispersion of the regiment. In the month of July, 1645, Lord Gordon made the first muster of his company at Leith, in presence of French officers sent over by Louis XIV. for the occasion; the latter were honourably entertained, and returned to France much gratified by their reception. In the year 1627, when the war broke out between France and Great Britain, the Men-at-arms were suppressed. But, upon peace being proclaimed, three years later, the body was again re-organised, and, with Lord Gordon at their head, took an active part in the war with Germany. He and his soldiers showed so much gallantry that they were always employed in the most hazardous enterprises. In 1635, Charles I. desired to have Lord Gordon's assistance in his own cause; but Gordon felt that he could not with honour leave the army of the French King, who had resolved to take part in the Thirty Years' War. There were at this moment in the French service, besides the Scots Men-at-arms and the Guards, four other Scotch regiments:—Les Gardes Ecossaises, organised in 1742 by the Earl of Irvine; Sir John Hepburn's company; and the regiments of Colonel Douglas and Colonel Forbes, the former numbering 1,000 men. These formed part of nineteen foreign regiments raised by Richelieu; and the French Army was in such an

efficient state, that it soon proved that it was more than a match for the Spanish troops which had been so long the pride of the House of Asturia. A few negotiations, preserved in the records of the Privy Council of Scotland, are apparently the last attempts that were made to renew the ancient league and restore the privileges of the Scots in France. In 1642, William, Earl of Lothian, was sent to France for the purpose. Louis XIV. declared that he would renew the league only on the condition that the 'Scots directlie or indirectlie enter not in armes in England, whether under the pretext of serving the King of Great Britain or under the pretext of serving religioun, without expresse commissioun from the King their master.'

Soon afterwards, the first English revolution caused numbers of Scotch Royalists to emigrate to France. Their prospects were indeed a contrast to those of their countrymen in former times. Instead of being looked for anxiously by their allies, as necessary to their plans of conquest, and seeking on their own part to promote their fortune by voluntarily embracing a foreign service, they were now merely poor fugitives seeking a place of safety. But Louis XIV. had not forgotten the many services rendered to his kingdom by the Scots; and he showed a kindly sympathy with them, and moreover continued to them the rights and privileges conferred by so many of his predecessors. He also maintained the company of Men-at-arms and the Guards—the only two corps in the French Army which had survived the troubles of the sixteenth century. Owing to their seniority to all other regiments, they took precedence of the whole army in time of war. To the Guards also belonged the honour of being placed next the Sovereign on State occasions, and the still greater dignity of bearing the body of the king at royal funerals. It is not surprising that these high privileges should have often aroused feelings of jealousy among the French, and we have accounts of various endeavours on their part to contest the rights of the Scots. These efforts, however, would appear generally to have been made in vain. In consequence of these favours, it was considered a high honour to enter the company of Guards or Men-at-arms. But their title of Scotch Regiments was soon to be but a name. From the end of the seventeenth century, the Guards were

recruited chiefly from noble French families; and, though occasionally the descendants of the first Scotch officers were admitted, these cases occur more and more rarely. Thus this famous body, which had been an ornament to our nation for two centuries, and had boasted of having two of our sovereigns as commanders, was gradually transformed into a French regiment. The company of the Men-at-arms shared the fate of the Guards. The French, however, who composed it scrupulously kept up the original customs; only men of the standard height could enter the regiment, and the officer on duty, after the palace gates were closed, replied, when challenged; 'I am here;' in Gaelic. The Guards were at the head of the French army during all the great battles which marked the reign of Louis XIV., and particularly distinguished themselves at Malplaquet. There, commanded by Prince James Stewart, they charged the enemy with such valour as to pierce in succession the first, second, and third lines. The Prince exposed himself with great coolness, and was wounded at the same time as Stewart of Aubigny, who was then commanding the Royal regiment. The last action in which the Guards took part was the battle of Lawfeld in 1747.

Of the thousands of Jacobites who followed their king to France, but few were admitted into the corps embodied by their ancestors; but the unsuccessful candidates were not the less mindful to maintain the honour of their nation, and took a glorious part in the perils and victories of the French army. In consequence of the emigration of so many Royalists, many new Scotch regiments were formed, such as the Hamilton, Campbell, Royal Ecossais, Ogilvy, Douglas, and Albany. Among the brave men who, preferring honour to personal advancement, and refusing to forsake a fallen cause, followed James to France, we must call special attention to the gentlemen who had served under Claverhouse. After the fatal day of Killiecrankie, one hundred and fifty of these gallant soldiers passed into France, and for some time formed the king's guard at the palace of St. Germain. Perceiving, however, that their presence served but to increase the expenses of the royal household, they resolved, although all of good birth, to volunteer as

privates in the French army. Having obtained James's consent, these brave men mustered in order to be reviewed for the last time by their exiled monarch. We cannot imagine anything more touching than the scene which took place. The king, deeply affected by the gallantry and unselfishness of his faithful subjects, did not attempt to hide his emotion; and, after thanking each one by name, and bowing most graciously, he burst into tears. The whole body of men knelt and bowed low to the unfortunate monarch, and then simultaneously gave him the royal salute. The historian of these gallant men tells us, that during their service in the French cause they were always the first in battle and the last to retreat; and that, though they were often in want of the first necessities of life, they were never heard to complain, save of the misfortunes of their king. Who does not recall Aytoun's stirring lines in which he relates the story of one of the exploits of this chosen band? The scene, even yet after two hundred years, bears testimony to their prowess by its name, the Island of the Scots. After the battle of Lawfeld, we have no records to enable us to trace clearly the career of the Guards to its close. The state of France was becoming gradually more and more disturbed; and we cannot but suppose that the storm of revolutionary feeling so soon to sweep over the country must have carried away with it the chosen Body Guard of the French kings. Their previous history tells us that, had the Scots Guard still survived in their national character, they would have been, as ever, faithful to the end, and the Swiss Guards would not have been alone in their fidelity to a fallen monarch. After many years, when France, slowly recovering from the desolation of the reign of terror, once more welcomed a rightful sovereign in the person of Louis XVIII. the Guards were reorganised, and for a few years we see them filling their own place in royal pageants, and exercising their former privileges. They had the mournful honour of bearing the remains of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette to St. Denis, and again they accompanied Louis XVIII. to the grave.

But all too soon came the revolution of 1830; and Charles X., forced to fly his kingdom, took refuge in Scotland, linked for so long with the throne of France. With the close of the French

Monarchy ends the history of the Scots Guards. All who have followed its records will acknowledge a debt of gratitude to Father Forbes-Leith for presenting us with this hitherto unwritten chapter of national history.

ART. VI.—JAMES CLERK MAXWELL.

The Life of James Clerk Maxwell: With a Selection from his Correspondence and Occasional Writings, and a Sketch of his Contributions to Science. By LEWIS CAMPBELL, M.A., LL.D., and WILLIAM GARNETT, M.A. London, 1882.

TO the unscientific public the name of James Clerk Maxwell has been comparatively unknown. We are therefore all the more grateful to Professor Campbell for this biography. It is not a mere record of scientific achievement, which would commend itself only to the initiated few. It is the history of a man of singular attractiveness and of sterling worth. The interest of the book consists in its picture of the growth and development of rare mental and moral gifts. The story is touchingly told by Professor Campbell, who brings to his task the culture of a scholar, as well as the affectionate insight of a friend. His recollections of Professor Maxwell date from very early days—when the two were boys together at the Edinburgh Academy, and walking home from school in company, would linger in boyish fashion on the steps of the house door, door-handle in hand, ‘until voices within complained of the cold, and warned them that they must part.’ In a graceful little poem by Professor Maxwell, addressed many years afterwards to Mr. Campbell’s mother, those boyish conferences are recalled with loving minuteness.

James Clerk Maxwell is another of those Scotchman of whom Scotland is justly proud. He was Scotch by birth and descent; he was Scotch also in many of the most prominent traits of his character. He possessed the dry humour and the cautious reserve which characterise our northern race. He had that

power of holding his own, and of quietly keeping on his own way, independent alike of ridicule and of criticism, which makes a Scotchman always master of the situation. His reticent and self-possessed temperament is well illustrated by more than one incident of his boyhood; and notably by the cool way in which, when a boy of ten, fresh from the country, he stood his rude reception by the boys of the Edinburgh Academy, who, Philistine like, made sport of the young stranger's patois, and country fashioned attire.

To the curious in family pedigrees, and to the believers in heredity, a brief mention of some of Maxwell's distinguished ancestors may not be unacceptable. On both sides he was descended from Scottish families who for generations had been marked by ability and culture. His maternal grandfather, R. Hodshon Cay, is mentioned in Lockhart's *Life of Scott* as an accomplished gentleman, who was appointed with Sir Walter to put the Faculty's cabinet of medals in proper arrangement; and various members of the Cay family possessed exceptional artistic gifts. Maxwell's father was proprietor of the estate of Middlebie, in Dumfriesshire, and a younger brother of the well-known Sir George Clerk of Penicuik. The Clerks of Penicuik are descended from John Clerk of Kilhuntly in Badenoch, who attached himself to the party of Queen Mary, and had to leave that district during the troubles of 1568. From him was descended William Clerk, who married Agnes Maxwell, heiress of Middlebie, in Dumfriesshire. She belonged to a branch of the family of Lord Maxwell, and in a succeeding generation was represented by Dorothea Clerk Maxwell, who married her cousin, Sir George Clerk Maxwell, a Commissioner of Customs. His younger brother was John Clerk of Eldin, author of a treatise on Naval Tactics, which to some extent revolutionised the art of naval warfare. His eldest son again was John Clerk, the distinguished Scottish judge, known as Lord Eldin. The two grandsons of Sir George Clerk Maxwell, and his wife Dorothea, were the late Right Honourable Sir George Clerk, who succeeded to Penicuik in 1790, and John Clerk Maxwell, the father of Professor Maxwell, who in right of his grandmother inherited Middlebie. He married, in 1826, Frances,

daughter of R. H. Cay of Charlton, and their only son—the subject of this memoir—was born in July, 1831.

So much for the antecedents of the boy. The bent of his own genius early manifested itself. Before he was three years old he was busily investigating the mysteries of the bell-wires which ran through the house. He translated the child's vague 'Why' into the definite question of 'What's the go o' that?' 'But what's its particular go?' On a starry winter evening the little fellow was wrapped in a plaid and carried to the hall door by his father, who gave him his earliest lessons in astronomy. His play-hours, when a school-boy, were devoted to scientific experiments. The compression of solids, and the composition of light specially interested him—even in his boyish days. At dinner he often sat silently absorbed in the effort to see round an angle, or in watching the effect of the reflected light of the glasses on the table, till he was roused from reverie by his aunt's exclamation, 'Jamsie, you're in a prop.,' *i.e.*, proposition. At fourteen he wrote a paper upon Oval Curves, which was read to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Professor J. D. Forbes deeming it worthy of that honour, on account of 'the simplicity and elegance of its method,' as well as its originality. Results which others reached after much laborious work, were grasped by him almost intuitively. A Cambridge friend ruefully relates, how, while he spent midnight and early morning hours in preparation for Mr. Hopkins, the mathematical tutor, Maxwell, half an hour or so before the time, would rise and cheerfully say, 'Well, I must go to old Hop's problems.' And the work was always done, and well done. Mr. Hopkins' testimony is, 'that he never knew Maxwell make a mistake.' At the age of nineteen, to the astonishment of members who did not know the slender stripling, he disputed some point in the colour theory with the veteran, Sir David Brewster, at the British Association. But these intellectual pursuits did not withdraw him from the games and interests of youth. On the contrary, he was full of animal spirits and delighted in physical recreation. At home, he rose before six o'clock in summer, and spent the hours before breakfast in getting rid of his superfluous energy by active

exercise, in order to be sufficiently 'saddened down' for the sedentary work of the day. His love of animals was great. He handled even a frog 'lovingly.' He never took part in field sports, for he could not bear to hurt a living creature. Once only did Mr. Campbell hear him refer to vivisection. With his usual tolerance he forebore from explicit condemnation of it, only he concluded the conversation with a wistful glance, and the quick words, 'Could'n't do it, you know.'

If the intellectual advantages and opportunities which Maxwell enjoyed in his boyhood were exceptional, equally exceptional in its wholesomeness was the moral atmosphere which surrounded his home. Indeed it is when we turn to the picture of his domestic life, and observe the ties which bound his days together by links of natural piety, that the freshness and uniqueness of the book and of the man strike us most forcibly. At eight years old, his mother died, and henceforth father and son, the sole survivors of the family, were all in all to each other. Kind and helpful friends made a home for the boy during his school years in Edinburgh; but it was in his father that he found his unfailing counsellor, companion, and friend. When separated an almost daily correspondence was carried on between them. As a boy, James grudged no time or trouble on letters to cheer his father's lonely hours. Comical sketches, illustrated borders, words written backwards, anagrams, every *jeu d'esprit* that boyish imagination could devise, testify to precious holidays expended on this labour of love. In later life, his chief reason for desiring a Scotch Professorship was that he might be near his father. The wish was fulfilled, but just too late. His father died on the eve of his son's appointment to the Chair of Natural History in Aberdeen, and thus Professor Maxwell's public work began at a time when private sorrow had fallen heavily upon him.

To return to his professional career. From the University of Edinburgh he passed in his twentieth year to Cambridge. There had been a little hesitation in deciding the College which he should enter then. His first year was passed in Peterhouse, but he subsequently transferred himself to College, and his connection with it was never broken. At the close of his

undergraduate life, he stood Second Wrangler, and was bracketed equal Smith's prize-man, with Mr. Routh, the present well-known mathematical tutor. Soon afterwards he became a Fellow of Trinity College, and his head-quarters were at Cambridge until 1856, when he was appointed to the Chair of Natural History in Marischal College, Aberdeen. His life there was a very busy one. On 'the top' of regular routine, he was hard at work upon the problem of Saturn's Ring; he was doing what he could to promote education by lectures to working men; he was cultivating kindly relations with his students, whom he called his 'friends.' In June, 1858, he married Katherine, the daughter of Principal Dewar. On the fusion of the two Aberdeen Universities in 1860, Maxwell's Chair was abolished, and he immediately accepted the Professorship of Natural History in King's College, London. This post he retained until 1865, when he threw off the fetters of regular professional work, and retired to Glenlair, his house in Galloway. But he did not go there to enjoy the leisured life of a country gentleman. He wished to secure time and opportunity to devote himself to his own special investigations, and the chief outcome of this period of seclusion was his great work on Electricity and Magnetism. But the years were not always to be passed in this pleasant retreat. In 1871, a Chair of Experimental Physics was founded at Cambridge, and at the instance of many friends, Maxwell consented to stand for it, and was appointed without opposition. In connection with this Chair, there devolved on him the superintendence of the building and furnishing of a Physical Laboratory—the gift of the Duke of Devonshire. Opportunities for carrying on his own researches were necessarily limited during the years that followed. But this loss is compensated for by the gain which resulted to science from his residence in Cambridge. His Lectures,—his work, in first preparing the laboratory (upon which he spent hundreds of pounds out of his own pocket), and in afterwards superintending the experiments made in it by younger men,—the nature of the questions he put in examination,—the direction in which he turned the current of scientific thought, did much to remove the reproach once made

against the University of Cambridge, as to the unproductive style of work done there. If the years at Cambridge are less conspicuous for original work, they are not the least fruitful in work for which succeeding generations have to thank him. When the pressure of this busy time had partly relaxed, and leisure for personal research might have been hoped for, illness had laid hold on him. The few significant words in answer to an enquiry as to the success of his own work—'I have had to give up so many things,' tell their own story of sadness and of resignation. For two years he bravely struggled on, never giving up his work, and doing it heartily and joyfully as of old. But the end was nearer than he thought, and in the early winter of 1879, he passed away. He died when he was only forty-eight, but he left behind him enduring work in the world of science, a dear memory to his friends, and a noble example of a life rounded to a rare completeness.

The second part of the volume consists of a sketch of Professor Maxwell's scientific work by Mr. Garnett, who was his demonstrator in the Cavendish Laboratory from the beginning. The account is very clear and careful. Even an unscientific reader may glean from it a fair idea of the nature and extent of Maxwell's work. Mr. Garnett tells us that probably many years must elapse before an approximate estimate can be formed of its value. He says, 'no attempt has been made to give more than a brief account of a few of his principal contributions to science. The chief subjects referred to, have for convenience sake, been arranged in the following order:—1. Experiments on Colour Vision and other contributions to Optics. 2. Investigations respecting Elastic Solids. 3. Pure Geometry. 4. Mechanics. 5. Saturn's Rings. 6. Faraday's Lines of Force, and Maxwell's Theory of the Electro-magnetic Field, including the Electro-magnetic Theory of Light and other investigations in Electricity. 7. Molecular Physics.' In each of these departments of science he did much and original work, but it will perhaps be chiefly with Electricity and Physics that his name will generally be associated. Mr. Garnett quotes Mr. W. D. Niven's brief but comprehensive estimate of Maxwell's powers, given at the close of the

memoir published in the proceedings of the Royal Society. 'It is seldom that the faculties of invention and exposition, the attachment to physical science, and capability of developing it mathematically, have been found existing in one mind to the same degree. It would, however, require powers somewhat akin to Maxwell's own, to describe the more delicate features of the works resulting from this combination, every one of which is stamped with the subtle but unmistakable impress of genius.'

The volume includes a small collection of Maxwell's fugitive poems. Most of them were written during the exuberant period of youth. Yet even in the last ten busy years of his life he found time to chronicle in serio-comic rhyme passing incidents in scientific matters. With a light touch he rapidly outlines subjects rarely dealt with in verse, such as Mr. Tyndall's well remembered address at the opening of the British Association in 1874; Lectures to Women on Physical Science; Evolution, and similar topics. The *raison d'être* of such trifles can be detected in a vein of serious thought which runs underneath the pure nonsense which sparkles on the surface. In him the old alliance between music and mathematics was unbroken, and in a few graver poems tenderness and depth of thought are expressed with a very musical flow.

In Maxwell's life certain striking combinations of circumstances, of character, and of diverse influences are worthy of note. He was a man born in the position of a country gentleman, who chose to devote himself to the laboratory, and to work in no dilettante fashion. The same strength of character and resoluteness of purpose that distinguished Carlyle and many another famous Scotchman who has sprung from the peasant classes, and has come to the front, distinguished Clerk Maxwell. Again, he was educated at an English as well as at a Scotch University. He received all the honours and privileges of his English Alma Mater. He rendered her noble service. Yet none the less was he a loyal Scotchman. He never regretted that he was not born an Englishman, or tried to hide his nationality. The nature of his work obliged him to spend much of his time in England, but his home was always

in the 'Happy Valley' where Glenlair lay. He tried to return every year to officiate as an elder at the summer communion at the Parish Church of Parton. He knew the country people round about; he entered into their ways and understood their life, and spent time and trouble and money in their service.

Once more, Maxwell was a leader of scientific thought and a devout and true Christian. This was not because he held the faith in which he had been brought up with careless indifference. To a man of his nature, this would have been impossible. He weighed it, and found it not wanting. He does not seem to have changed or much modified his early creed. But to him, as to most thoughtful men, the form in which his religious ideas were clothed, was very secondary to religion itself. So he was tolerant to all with the large charity that hopeth all things, and that never faileth. He was a living contradiction to the fallacy that science and religion are antagonistic forces. He was a man whom the scientific world acknowledges as 'one who has enriched the inheritance left by Newton, consolidated the work of Faraday, and impelled the mind of Cambridge to a fresh course of real investigation.' He was at the same time a man of whom his own friends could say, 'James has lived at the gate of heaven,' and whom the country doctor who attended him in his last illness described 'as a most perfect example of a Christian gentleman.'

It is to the harmonious blending of such diverse elements and influences that his character owes much of its charm and completeness. To strength and persistency of will, he joined that 'flexibility' which Matthew Arnold finds so lamentably lacking in the British public. If his work lay among 'the foundation stones of the universe,' he took pleasure in all the light and shade of human interests. He talked downright nonsense, which was full of sense. He screened himself from observation by playful irony. His letters abound with passages of wise thought. He was familiar with many European languages. He enjoyed art in all her forms. Poetry and music were his favourite recreations. He was never too busy to lend a helping hand to any creature who needed it. In the midst of hard working days at Cambridge, he spent nights in nursing a sick

friend, and found time to think of and to superintend the books read by the gardeners' sons at Glenlair. And all this was perfectly natural. One thing seemed to grow out another, as if it could not have been otherwise.

The value of the book is enhanced by several coloured diagrams illustrating his scientific work, and by some sketches of the scenes and occupations of his childhood, taken at the time by his cousin, Mrs. Blackburn, who is perhaps better known by the initials J. B. Even to a stranger, those 'bits of the past' at once tell their graphic story, but to the few who remember the people and the incidents depicted, each detail is full of meaning, and brings vividly back the days of a never to be forgotten past.

ART. VII.—MEDICAL REFORM.

THE system of medical education now established in Scotland has met with such success, whether from a public or professional point of view, that proposed changes, especially if forced from without, will be looked upon with some degree of suspicion, and will demand critical consideration. The great variety in the genus 'doctor' perplexes the public not a little, and it is only among the more highly educated where anything approaching a clear idea regarding the different species can be said to exist. To be duly qualified and entitled to a place on the Medical Register, appears to ensure enough of guarantee that the individual has received a sufficient training for the varied duties of a general practitioner; and in this fact may be found a proof that the system of education and examination presently carried out has been in a moderate degree satisfactory. Discussion with regard to the varying value of degrees and diplomas has been relegated to the columns of the medical press, and deemed to be only of professional interest. But it appears certain, as far as anything in the political world nowadays can be considered certain, that ere long the subject will be before the Houses of Parliament with a view to

legislation; and it may be well briefly to review the present position of matters medical, having special regard to proposed changes.

Though much interest attaches to the earlier history of medicine and of medical education, the present system may be looked upon as of recent growth, and of rapid development, chiefly since the passing of the Medical Act in 1858. In the early years of the present century the teaching of medicine was of the most trivial character, was chiefly conducted by the method of apprenticeship to a master whose knowledge was rude and empirical, and so far as University education was deemed necessary, this was accomplished in the attendance upon little more than a course of lectures on chemistry and medicine, the latter term at that time including almost all the subjects of the present curriculum. By the side of the chairs in other faculties, those in the medical are mostly things of yesterday. While many subjects in the Arts and Divinity courses were taught formally, almost four hundred years ago, few of the medical chairs were founded before this century began. Of the twelve chairs in the Faculty of Medicine at Glasgow, only two date beyond this century, in 1800 Aberdeen had but three established teachers; Edinburgh, the youngest of our Scottish Universities, yet the first to foster medicine as an academic subject, has had four chairs added during this century; while St. Andrews need scarcely be considered when dealing with medical education. In the past the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons in Edinburgh, and the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow, have done much to promote the study and teaching of medicine; but while still more or less intimately connected with extra-mural medical schools in their respective cities, the function of these bodies is now chiefly to examine candidates for their licenses, and to promote a feeling of fellowship and of *esprit de corps* among their members. In Edinburgh and Glasgow flourishing extra-mural schools exist, in which many students receive an excellent education on easier terms than those offered at the Universities, their classes qualify for the various licensing bodies, are in part recognised by the Univer-

sities, and their lectureships form training schools for future professors, while also serving the purposes of a healthy rivalry.

In England medical education is chiefly conducted by physicians and surgeons forming the staff of the various hospitals, metropolitan and provincial. In some of these the curriculum is complete, the lecturers men of the highest eminence in the profession, the field for clinical and practical work all that could be wished, but the damaging influence of a too diffuse energy, and above all the almost complete neglect of the ancient and wealthy Universities, are elements of weakness grieved over by all earnest lovers of the science and art of medicine. Each of the great English Universities have large endowments, originally provided to ensure the adequate teaching of a subject neglected by both. It is true that quite recently a stimulus has been given to science teaching, especially in Cambridge, and ere long it may be hoped that, with the exception of due clinical instruction, a satisfactory course in medicine may be possible under these noble roofs; but so far little has been done, and at present the number of medical students in either University is to the last degree trifling. In London eleven medical schools exist, each connected with a particular hospital, while provincial medical schools in England number no fewer than fifteen. In some of these the number of students is large and the instruction adequate, but no one doubts that in London all except organisation is present for the formation of the most complete and extensive medical school in the world. The splendid material now existing is frittered away by so many separate efforts at completeness, and instead of medical teaching commanding and retaining the services of the highest dignitaries in the profession, as is the case in Scotland, these lectureships are in most cases deemed to be excellent ladders whereby to climb to some degree of professional distinction and extensive practice, but to be kicked away so soon as a safe eminence is attained. The spectacle of a band of youths at the various hospitals carrying on this high work, while the seniors, men of world wide celebrity, enjoy their *otium cum dignitate*, is one which causes regret to all who know the vast erudition now disused so far as teaching is concerned.

In Scotland, the highest ambition of the most distinguished practitioner is to reach and occupy a chair in one of the Universities. It is not the fame and wealth gained in high-class practice which is valued so much as the social standing and position of usefulness which naturally falls to the University professor; and while the result has been eminently successful in giving a higher tone to the teaching of medicine, the position has become one ensuring a very large income from the fees of a numerous body of students yearly flocking north for the advantages of such instruction. English students as a rule proceed for examination to the Royal Colleges in London, and the Apothecaries' Society also there; they become licentiates of the Society to which they respectively attach themselves, and consequently do not receive a *degree* in medicine. This last fact constitutes the real grievance, and the source of the endless jealousy felt in the South towards the Scottish schools. The University of London, which is purely a degree granting body, has set its standard of examination, more especially in preliminary subjects, so high that it is out of reach of the average student; and hence, though it has been of vast service to the higher study and teaching of medicine, and from the fact that it does not itself engage in the practical work of teaching, this high class institution has not reached the vast body of students for whom we may suppose it was intended, or, at least, ought to be available.

At present, it may be broadly stated that in England the minority only aspire to a degree in medicine, whereas of students taught wholly in Scotland a large majority have this distinction within reach, and avail themselves of it. Speaking again in a general sense, it may be said that the curriculum necessary prior to examination for a Bachelor of Medicine's degree includes four years of study, as against three winters' and two summers' residence for the various licenses; that it embraces subjects, such as Botany and Zoology, not compulsory upon other students; that every University in the United Kingdom examines in each of the subjects embraced in medical study—i.e., conducts a complete examination; whereas many of the Corporations examine in a limited number of subjects,

and grant registrable qualifications entitling the holders to practice medicine, surgery, and midwifery without examination in one or other of these subjects. The majority of men now holding the diploma of the Royal College of Surgeons of England have not been tested as to their knowledge of midwifery, though this art is practised by most surgeons; and perhaps a more serious anomaly is presented by the Society of Apothecaries which grants a certificate entitling its holder to the status of a general practitioner, giving him, indeed, certain special privileges, without any examination whatever in such an important subject as surgery! The Edinburgh Colleges (as distinguished from the University) were at one time open to criticism of a similar character, but some years ago they, as well as the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow, made arrangements for conjoint and complete examinations. Some of the weak points in the London examinations have been recently remedied, and there is now a prospect, without the interference of the State, that the great Colleges will enter into a similar agreement, when it is hoped the Apothecaries' Society may of itself decline further to exercise functions which do not now fall naturally within its province. Medicine is much indebted to this Society for its actions during many years subsequent to 1819; but so far as the examination of medical students is concerned, there is now no need for its continuance.

The foregoing account of the present position of medical education and examination does not include any reference to the action of the General Medical Council, to which the public and the profession are indebted for much of the improvement brought about since its establishment in 1858. Prior to that date the history of medicine proper in these islands is most unsatisfactory, but by the Medical Act of that year the General Council was formed; a Medical Register containing the names of all duly qualified medical men, who chose to pay the registration fee, was instituted; practice in any division of the kingdom was legalized to qualified men; the punishment of pretenders though cumbrous, was made possible; and, indeed, the profession was fairly recognised as worthy of imperial interest alike for its own and the public good. The Medical Council is com-

posed of distinguished medical men, elected for the most part by the Universities and Corporations, having the power of examination. To these are added a number of Crown nominees, the total being twenty-four. The functions of the Council may in brief be said to embrace a general regulation of the affairs of the profession. All matters regarding the curriculum of study at the various schools, the conduct of examinations, the registration of medical men, the removal of names from the Register on account of unworthy conduct, come within its scope; but unfortunately, so far as this relationship to the various examining bodies is concerned, their power goes little beyond that of making recommendations. Allowance being made for this shortcoming in its constitution, it may be said that the Council has throughout acted a part worthy of the distinguished names forming its roll, and those acquainted with the position of the medical profession before and since 1858, are in a position to fairly estimate the work done under many difficulties.

With the exception of weakness in certain quarters referred to above, there are few glaring defects in the training or examination of students in any part of the kingdom; and the healthy rivalry which has long existed has tended to a higher tone in medical life. Intra-mural reforms of the most sweeping character have been carried; and now it may be fairly said that the public have an abundant guarantee of sufficiency in the preparation of medical practitioners, and will soon have a satisfactory minimum examination instituted voluntarily by the most remiss of the Corporations. At no time has more rapid development been noted than during the last decade, and this chiefly in the direction of practical teaching. Few facts need now be taken on trust which are capable of demonstration; and the elaborate laboratories now found at most of our medical schools are the result of much expenditure both of money and energy. In the schools generally, but more especially in our Universities, there is at present a risk that the difficulties to the student may be inordinately increased, and as a result the supply of practitioners may fall below a sufficient level. Through the greater recognition of practical teaching, the curriculum in the Scottish Universities has been almost doubled,

the fees have mounted up to a corresponding extent, few but the best men are now capable of completing their studies in the period formerly deemed long enough, and the question of extending the curriculum to six, or at least five years, is frequently mooted, and was lately suggested in the influential columns of *The Lancet*. The increase in subjects, and the extended scope of present teaching have compelled the Universities to arrange for four examinations, instead of three, prior to graduation; while some of the corporations which require a high standard of knowledge have now divided their subjects, so that they may be taken at three different periods. With a moderate, perhaps too moderate, preliminary examination in general knowledge; with four examinations, at each of which about forty per cent. of students are rejected, before a registrable degree (M.B.) can be obtained; with a further test, after two years of practice, before the higher (M.D.) degree can be his, most readers will feel that at least in our Scottish Universities no suspicion of laxity can be proved. It may further be asserted that the general requirements of licensing bodies are fairly high, and have much increased during recent years.

When so much can be said in favour of the present system of medical education and examination, it may appear strange that an agitation for radical changes has persistently been maintained, and has been so influentially supported, that numerous Bills have been introduced by successive Governments, and by private members, proposing a very varied series of changes. So numerous have been the suggestions presented to Parliament, that a Select Committee of the House of Commons was specially appointed in the years 1879 and 1880, to consider the various Bills then pressing for attention; and even this being afterwards deemed insufficient, a Royal Commission was named in May, 1881, to consider every question dealing directly or indirectly with the medical profession. The scope of the enquiry was intentionally broad, and the names of the Commissioners, such as to give the amplest guarantee of an intelligent and independent judgment.

As the recommendations of the Royal Commission cover most of the alleged deficiencies which have given rise to the agita-

tion for Medical Reform, the chief of these may be enumerated. It is proposed, (1.) That no one who has not passed an examination in medicine, surgery, and midwifery, can be admitted to the Register. (2.) That Divisional Boards shall be established in each division of the United Kingdom, representing all the Medical Authorities of the Division; and that these Boards shall conduct the examinations for the license. (3.) That the Medical Council should consist of eighteen members, of whom six should be nominated by the Crown, four elected by the registered members of the Medical Profession, and eight by the Divisional Boards. (4.) That the Medical Council may, if they see fit, recognise the examinations of the Medical Bodies, except the final examination in systematic and clinical medicine and surgery, and in midwifery, which must be conducted by the examiners of the Divisional Boards in every case. (5.) That every chartered University may give its own medical degrees. (6.) The certificate of the Divisional Board shall be a registrable qualification, though its holder be not a diplomate of any University or Corporation. (7.) That prosecutions for offences under the Medical Acts shall be undertaken by the Public Prosecutor. (8.) That women should be admitted to the examinations of the Divisional Boards on the same terms as men. (9.) That practitioners holding satisfactory foreign or colonial diplomas, should be registered in the United Kingdom without further examination. (10.) That, as now, the power of erasing names from the Register should rest in the Medical Council. The Report embodying these recommendations is signed by each of the eleven Commissioners; but no fewer than six of their number, and those including Professors Huxley, Bryce, and Turner, find it necessary to subjoin memoranda, expressing dissent from important parts of the Report.

A brief statement will be sufficient to show some, at least, of the objections raised, especially in Scotland, to the more important of these recommendations, but as there is hearty agreement felt throughout the profession and the country with many of the conclusions, it may be well first to advert to these. The necessity of every general practitioner being examined in and

qualified to practice medicine, surgery, and midwifery, will be acceded by all; and indeed, it may be a revelation to many to know that in the past licenses have been granted to practice after incomplete examinations. In the opinion of many competent critics, had the English and Irish Corporations combined for the purpose of preventing this incomplete examination, as did the Scottish, the agitation for a State Examination would have died of inanition. The Scottish Universities have all along conducted such examinations as are now desiderated, they feel deeply the turmoil which has been maintained for many years over a question long ago settled by themselves, and object to have the whole system of examination interfered with because of the shortcomings of the Southern Corporations. Direct representation of the profession in the General Medical Council has long been demanded in the columns of the medical press, and it is quite possible that the practitioners throughout the country are prepared for the worry and excitement which these elections will entail, though they know well that the class of men hitherto constituting the Council can hardly be improved on. The fees for registration payable by those on the Register form the funds of the Council; and if taxation should be accompanied by representation, it may be well that this grievance, however fanciful, should be removed. The dangerous brood of medical quacks will be more easily dealt with when the power of prosecuting such is placed with the natural authority for dealing with a public nuisance, and this question may well be settled in the interest alike of the public and the profession. The question as to the admission of women to the ranks of medicine is raised by the recommendation which we have placed eighth in our list; and whatever views may be held as to their fitness for the work, many will agree with the Commissioners that they should not labour under a legal disability. But by far the most important point dealt with in the Report, so far as Scottish interests are concerned, is the question hitherto known as the conjoint-scheme, or one-portal system. The London agitator has succeeded admirably in impressing a majority of the Commissioners with the plausibility of a scheme

which at first sight has much in its favour. The public generally will feel that the nineteen different bodies, each having power to grant a registrable qualification, might with safety to its interest be diminished; but when it is pointed out that nine of these are chartered Universities, against which no suspicion is felt, and that at least two of the others can without serious injury to their own interest be discontinued as licensing bodies, there remains a number which, considering the host of candidates to be dealt with, and the importance of a healthy rivalry cannot be held as too long for the purposes served. If doubt is felt with regard to the examination of any body, it is now within the powers of the Medical Council to suggest its suppression by the Privy Council; and it would be an eminently advisable reform to give to the Medical Council itself increased power in this and other directions. The finger of doubt has been pointed at but four in the long list of licensing bodies, and, as has been said, two of these may with little pressure be caused to withdraw. If the two Scottish Corporations unfavourably criticised have accepted a too low standard of knowledge as sufficient, the remedy is surely to be found in direct control exercised over them; and legislation which will seriously affect all the well doers, can only be considered as meddlesome. In the interest of the public a guarantee is necessary that no insufficiently educated student can possibly obtain a license, and this being ensured, all further interference is harmful alike to those institutions aiming at higher teaching, and to the country generally, which has immensely profited by the existing competition.

It was admitted ungrudgingly by the Royal Commission that the system of education and examination in the Scottish Universities was highly satisfactory; and the Report states that no favour would be shown to any proposals likely to decrease this efficiency and excellence. This conjoint scheme undoubtedly is prejudicial to the purposes of the Northern Universities, and has been persistently opposed by their representatives at every turn. It cannot be doubted by those acquainted with the circumstances that the standard set by these bodies is far above what would be a fair minimum; and this being so, to

subject their students or graduates to another, necessarily a minimum, examination must be vexatious and costly. Recognizing this, the Commissioners agree that only in the practical subjects shall this double distillation be necessary, and the fee is limited to five guineas. This worry and expense is simply a fine levied on University students, and intended to assist in compensating those Corporations whose occupation will be gone as soon as this universal examination has been instituted. Not the slightest additional honour to the student, or guarantee of efficiency to the public can be obtained by any one passing the examination for the license of any of the Colleges after having satisfied the Divisional Board; and excepting those who wish the higher qualifications granted by these bodies, or those settling to practice sufficiently near their Halls to obtain library and other privileges, no student will optionally subject himself to the necessary ordeal, and more needful payments. It is well that proposals have been made to compensate these bodies for any loss sustained, but as this must come from the pockets of the students, their views on the subject are entitled to consideration. A general reduction to sheer mediocrity, or any course damaging that higher teaching cannot be for the interest of the public generally, and whether the English, Scottish, or Irish Universities are concerned, in so far as they are respectively affected, they will suffer. London critics are never weary of pointing to the fact that it is the Scottish Schools that chiefly object to their scheme, conveniently forgetting that it is they only who teach a sufficient number of students to make the sacrifice a real one. Oxford may well neglect the whole matter with her score or so of medical students, but it is far otherwise with Edinburgh, whose fame is chiefly centred here, and whose roll now includes over seventeen hundred students of medicine. In the various Scottish Universities past history and present activity alike testify to a success in the teaching of medicine which cannot be rivalled by any other existing British institution.

The cry for uniformity is at the root of much that has been written in favour of the Divisional Boards; but, apart from the general objections easily raised against this dead level placed

upon higher aspirations, and deprecated even by the Royal Commission, it will be observed that the goal is by no means reached by the recommendations in the Report. We shall still have three entirely different examining boards. It is only in a few of the subjects that compulsory examination by these will be deemed necessary, and by another enactment graduates and practitioners generally from all the respectable schools throughout the world will be entitled to practice in Great Britain without any test on the part of our authorities. It appears that our Medical Council has a sufficient knowledge of the character of medical teaching and examination to judge of their sufficiency throughout the world, but cannot be trusted with a similar discretion regarding British institutions! If legislation on these lines be adopted, and proves operative in excluding any considerable number of candidates in this country, we are open to an invasion from the unsuccessful and incompetent hordes of colonial and foreign practitioners who will look upon England as a most useful harbour of refuge, and if it does not prove operative in this way, it follows that it is quite unnecessary. The vaunted one-portal system thus becomes an illusion, and is evidently mistrusted by its latest patrons. A far more practical method of overcoming any possible dereliction of duty on the part of licensing authorities is that suggested by Scottish representatives, who would gladly allow all assessors at University examinations to be appointed by the Medical Council, instead of by the University as at present. If a sufficient proportion of examiners were similarly chosen at the various Corporations, the public would have abundant protection against Corporate zeal for members, and existing institutions could not object to such help in the delicate work of examination.

The promise for the future was never brighter than it now is, the time never more inappropriate for irritating interference from without; and we earnestly hope that Government will, in framing the coming measure, give heed to national characteristics in this as well as in many other matters; and that it will not force upon Scotland, or Ireland either, an alien arrangement opposed unanimously in the northern country, and viewed with the utmost suspicion beyond St. George's Channel.

ART. VIII.—RELIGIOUS NOVELS AND THE CHRISTIAN IDEAL.

1. *Ministering Children.* By Miss CHARLESWORTH.
2. *Weighed and Wanting.* By GEORGE MACDONALD.
3. *What's in a Name.* By SARAH DOUDNEY.
4. *Middlemarch.* By GEORGE ELIOT.

IF that restless woman, eulogized in the Proverbs of Solomon, who could not even stay quietly in her bed at night, had only used up a little of her superfluous energy in writing novels, what delicious morning slumbers her otherwise much harried household would have enjoyed, and what a vivid portrait she would have left for our enlightenment of Hebrew domestic life three thousand years ago. Great, in this respect, will be the advantages of generations yet to come. That useful abstraction, Lord Macaulay's New Zealander, when he visits the cradle of his race, and endeavours, amidst the mouldering ruins of London, to picture to himself the mighty city in the days of its magnificence, will doubtless aid his imagination by copious reading of the novels of the nineteenth century, providing always that a frenzy of despair does not meantime cause an outburst of irrepressible burning mania among custodians of public libraries. This possible future for their literary efforts may well cause writers of popular novels to take heart of grace. When the weighty tomes of their philosophical or scientific contemporaries are simply regarded as so many contributions to the general sum of human blundering, their own now lightly esteemed pages may be eagerly searched by the historian to decide some disputed date or doubtful custom, the current meaning of a phrase, or some such point, over which the learned societies of the day are wrangling fiercely. From their pages, also, he may seek light upon the general moral and social tone of our time. The fashion of our souls' garments may be thereby made known to him, as the portraits of to-day reveal the style and shape of our bodily clothing.

That an almost unfailing necessity is laid upon the ordinary novel writer to reproduce, in his works, the moral and social tone of his day, is sufficiently proved by the rarity with which success attends the effort to depict, in fiction, the characteristics of a bygone age. Save in the case of a few writers of great ability, an attempt at a mediæval romance simply results in a few nineteenth century men and women masquerading in strange costumes. For better or for worse our own time holds our imaginations in thrall. The novel writer may choose for his theme either wisdom and virtue, or vice and folly; but it must be wisdom and virtue, or vice and folly, in the shape they assume in the everyday life around him.

Not only the future historian, therefore, but also the present moral philosopher may find in the ephemeral literature of the day, a value quite apart from any which it may or may not possess as a work of art. Even those monstrous productions of diseased imaginations which are like nothing in heaven above, in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth; which are in fact the Siamese twins and two headed nightingales of literature, will not be without their interest for him; just as their prototypes in the physical world possess special points of interest for the student of physical science.

If this reflection of the moral and social tone of the day be a general feature of the ordinary novel, still more markedly may we expect to find the religious novel reflecting the general tone of religious sentiment. Religion is the one subject upon which, if human beings feel at all, they are tolerably certain to feel strongly. No one devoid of religious feeling is the least likely to write religious novels; neither are any likely to read them save those who find in their pages a faithful reflection of their own sentiments. Therefore, in any such novels which attain popularity, we may confidently anticipate finding tolerably faithful portraits of the average religious sentiment of the day. The largest portion of such works are written in the interest of differing religious parties, and this very fact confers upon them additional value. They occasionally become practical illustrations of unforeseen results. The thoughts, words, and deeds, of a group of Ritualistic, Evangelical, or

Broad Church heroes and heroines, will reflect the general tone of the rank and file of the party more accurately than the distinct teachings of its leaders; and may sometimes furnish them with a warning respecting the importance of careful consideration not only of what they teach, but also of the mental and moral condition of those whom they teach. If, for instance, a novel published some years since under the title of *Edgar and I*, were placed in the hands of a really sensible clergyman of the ritualistic school, he would probably laugh heartily at the ridiculous caricature it contains. But the writer is an ardent ritualist, and, therefore, unless a Phoenix, an instance of the danger of a certain kind of teaching to a certain order of mind, unless administered in the form in which that mind can properly assimilate it. We may be thought to give undue importance to such literature, but we hope in the sequel to show that religious novels, especially in their faults and failings, are sufficiently faithful reflections of ordinary religious life, to justify the belief that they are worth more attention than they often receive.

Taking religious novels broadly, as a class, irrespective of the colouring of any special school of thought, what are we to say then of the evidence they afford regarding the present general tone of religious sentiment? Apart from the actual incidents and characters depicted in any work of fiction, there always pervades it a sort of subtile moral perfume, resulting from the writer's capability or incapability of lofty elevated thought, and keen sympathy with what is pure, noble, and generous. In the ordinary religious novel is this moral perfume, if we may be allowed the use of the phrase, in general worthy of the Christian ideal? worthy of that religion of which truth, purity, absolute self-negation, and the loftiest moral tone of action, constitute the very vital essence? We are speaking, be it remembered, of *kind*, not of *degree*. The latter is to some extent a matter of intellectual ability. The hand will not always work up to the conception of the brain; perhaps it never does. But whether weak or strong is the true perfume there? We fear we may take a far lower standpoint. If a reader turn from the pages of a Plato, a Seneca, a Marcus

Aurelius, to those of the Christian novelist, without any question of intellectual quality, is he not at once conscious that he has descended to a lower moral platform? It is not for 'that perfect monster whom the world ne'er saw,' we contend. By all means let the characters portrayed be erring faulty human beings, but preserve the purity of the Christian ideal. Let action, in so far as it is faulty, be represented as falling short of the ideal. It is when faults and weaknesses are represented as part and parcel of the ideal perfection that we miss the true moral perfume, not in degree, but in kind. The Greek and Roman mythologies dragged down their gods to the level of men, and endowed them with human passions; and for lending themselves to such a conception, Plato would have banished poets from his ideal state. Is not the Christian writer tending, at least, in the same direction, when he lowers the Christian ideal?

This, however, being a negative is a somewhat intangible sort of accusation. It is not only for what they are not, but for what they are, that such a large proportion of religious novels are open to grave censure. One of the worst faults in which they abound, if not absolutely the worst, seems to us to be the encouragement they give to a habit of morbid self-contemplation, which is certainly the bane of all robust healthy religion. There cannot well be a more mischievous practice than the fostering of this fatal tendency. Self is a most seductive idol, and when once firmly seated on the inward throne, the moral and religious aberrations which may result are incalculable. Of course it does not reign in its own undisguised ugliness. Like the Prince of Darkness, it poses as an angel of light. Morbid self-depreciation becomes beautiful Christian humility. Pharisaical self-righteousness figures as high conscientiousness, and all the world is expected to admire these Christian virtues. Curiously enough, too, these two apparently contradictory tendencies are very apt to reign simultaneously. Persistent general professions of a sense of sinfulness and unworthiness are not unfrequently joined to an arrogant assumption of infallibility in each individual case of action. Admire my humility seems to be the internal aspira-

tion, but do not for a moment venture to doubt that that humility is rewarded by special manifestations of Divine guidance on all occasions of action. In whatever form, however, self may reign, one result is certain. All moral and religious questions will be regarded from the standpoint of personal feeling, rather than of sound reason. Judgments will be guided by feelings, not by evidence.

Now the encouragement of this mischievous tendency is a frequent fault of just the very class of religious novels in which it is most pernicious—stories for children and young people. Perhaps such stories may be held hardly worth criticism; but youth is the seed time of life. The farmer who should sow seed without regard to its quality, because it is such an insignificant thing, would probably see relative values in a different light when harvest time came. The confessions of many criminals, the experience of magistrates, and of those connected with the management of reformatories, all bear witness to the importance of the impressions made upon youthful minds by imaginative literature. The impression is not likely to be slighter in the case of children born and reared amidst surroundings which are calculated to increase the sensitiveness of the imagination, though in the latter case cause and effect are less visibly linked together. When the pockets of some youthful criminal are found full of penny dreadfuls, or flaming accounts of daring crimes; or he admits that the reading of such literature first fired his ambition thus to secure notoriety, the moral is self-evident. But when some member of the home circle breaks out in some of these peculiar forms of extra religiousness of which many a family has a smarting perception, and is morosely gloomy, coldly self-absorbed, or doggedly determined to follow out some private conception of religious duty, utterly regardless of the feelings or comfort of others, the possible connection of this undesirable harvest with the seed of a morbid subjectivity, planted by the unwholesome element in religious stories which have taken a stronger hold on the childish mind than anyone has supposed, is not so plainly apparent.

Few works of this class have, we suppose, enjoyed a wider

popularity than *Ministering Children*, a book in which this evil tendency is especially prominent. The very title carries its condemnation. If there be one thing which, more than another, constitutes the special grace of childhood, it is the absence of all self-consciousness. What tattered fragments of this exquisite charm will long survive when once the idea of being a ministering child has taken firm hold on the infant mind? Can anything be much more odious than a self-conscious little prig, glorying in this early acquirement of that *summum bonum* of all self-conscious people, a vocation, and going forth to be a ministering child, and scatter blessings in beneficent showers among those immeasurably inferior beings, the destitute and the suffering, which blessings are at once to turn from darkness to light all on whom they descend. We have known a family of ministering children, much given to distributing tracts, one of whom asked her mother to let her stay at home when her sisters went to a childrens' party, 'because she did not wish to be of the world.' 'God, I thank Thee that I am not as other children are.' This appears to us to be a very natural result of being a ministering child. This book is heartily to be condemned, also, for the utterly unreal pictures of life it presents; but in their connection we consider them rather useful than otherwise. They are likely enough to prove a good antidote for a worse evil. A child, nourished upon the book into complacent self-consciousness, and going forth to be a ministering child in the actual world of poverty and suffering will be likely soon to receive a sobering shock of a most effectual kind.

A very common type of character in books of this class is a heroine who lives in a perpetual fever of fussy benevolence, or fervid ritualism, posing before herself in exultant self-consciousness as saint and martyr, because she is prevented from indulging her religious vagaries regardless of all considerations of prudence or common sense. 'Sublimely free from doubt,' no thought of any possibility that she may be in the wrong disturbs her ecstacy of martyrdom. Humbly confessing, in private meditation, that she is unworthy thus to suffer for righteousness sake, she arrogantly waives all

consideration of the possibility that she may be suffering for the sake of wilful dogged obstinacy. It is doubtless pleasant to contemplate the parents whose matured experience leads them to take a different view of such subjects from that of your crude immaturity, or the brothers and sisters who laugh at your vocation, in the light of that persecuting world at whose hatred you are told not to marvel; but we doubt the advisability of setting such ideals before youthful minds as types of religious character.

Another common fault in stories of this class is undue exaltation of small virtues. 'Too religious in the proper sense of the word,' said Archbishop Whately, 'we cannot be, but we are very apt to make to ourselves too many objects of religious feeling.' How often in religious stories for young people does a heroine figure to whom it is a matter of deep religious feeling always to be down stairs in the morning in time to see that the water in the urn boils before the tea is made for breakfast; or who mourns serious religious lapse if she loses her keys, or forgets to give out something from the storeroom at the right time. Unquestionably, the social machine will not work smoothly and harmoniously if such small bolts and screws are neglected; but how very easily they are kept in order without any religious aspirations at all, when the thoughts are too entirely occupied with the welfare and happiness of others, to leave any room for the intrusion of self. Nor is the danger small that when tea urns and storeroom keys become objects of lofty religious enthusiasm, higher and holier virtues may be left out in the cold. A tendency to deteriorate is too inherent in human nature to leave much room for hope that moral or intellectual faculties will long continue to occupy a higher level than that of the things about which they are habitually occupied.

There is another class of religious novels, at which we may just glance in passing, as curiously illustrative of the sort of material which minds of a certain order can conceive it possible to press into the service of a religion of truth and purity. They are the worthy successors—rare we hope in these days—of that remarkable publication, *The Lady of the Manor*, of

which we have a distant childish remembrance ; where lessons, to candidates for confirmation, on the Ten Commandments, are enforced by highly coloured stories illustrative of the results of breaches of the same, chiefly drawn, it would appear, from French novels. We have not often encountered such of late years, but we have occasionally chanced upon one. We were once asked to look over a packet of books presented to a parochial lending library, and distinctly remember, in one, this charming incident ! We think, if we recollect rightly, it was the good heroine who allowed herself to be persuaded to marry the wicked hero. At any rate, on the way from church, the wedding party pass a well, out of which, at that very moment, the bodies of a girl whom the bridegroom had seduced and deserted, and her infant, are being drawn, she having drowned herself and child in despair. Of course the writer would plead a desire to emphasize the horrors of vice. This is a very dangerous idea to take possession of the ordinary mind. It will perhaps be in the remembrance of some readers that, a good many years since, a book much circulated by certain ardent Protestants, in their rabid eagerness to expose the horrors of the confessional, was condemned as an obscene publication ! We remember, also, another book, purporting to be the confessions of a converted Roman Catholic priest, bearing on the same subject, which some zealous Protestant clergymen kept in dark corners of their libraries, and studied, let us hope, with much edification. We chanced upon a copy once, and took the liberty of putting it forthwith into the fire. We admit it was not our property. Whosoever therefore feels aggrieved at our remarks on religious novels, can console himself with reflections on the worthlessness of moral perceptions so much blunted in respect of the eighth commandment !

In the case of religious novels not specially designed for young people, we are still met by the same faults. They do not perhaps show so strong a tendency to deify small virtues, but they are frequently disfigured by a worse failing—that of exhibiting in their specimens of ideal perfection, a deplorably low moral tone of conduct. Two stories of this class, running simultaneously, during the latter half of last year, through the

monthly numbers of *The Sunday Magazine*, afford abundant evidence of what we so heartily condemn. We mean, of course, Dr. Macdonald's *Weighed and Wanting*, and Miss Doudney's *What's in a Name?* A more disagreeable collection of people than the Raymounts, root and branch, in *Weighed and Wanting*, we have not often encountered. The opening chapter excites our sympathy on behalf of the unfortunate Cornelius, when we reflect that his life at home was persistently exposed to the conversation of his mother and sister; and we are lost in amazement at the courage of Vavasor, when we find that he did not turn and fly after the first ten minutes' experience of the united family powers, in this respect, at the Aquarium. But as illustrating the peculiar shortcomings of religious novels, it is especially with the heroine, Hester Raymount, we have to deal. She is offered to us as a type of ideally noble womanhood. Were it not for one or two remarks, in his own person, during the course of the story, and for the impossibility of suspecting Dr. Macdonald of ever having perpetrated a joke, we confess we should have been inclined to doubt whether the portrait was not an ironical one, and whether the heroine herself was not the person at whom the title was aimed. A most unpleasant specimen of ideal perfection she is. A self-sufficient narrow-minded prig, not over good tempered, and surpassing even her mother in powers of ponderous talk. She is so wholly eaten up by one idea that she is absolutely incapable of even perceiving that there are such things as relative values—she would certainly have 'cried fire at the deluge.' This one idea is, not *objectively* the suffering poor, but *subjectively* her vocation to minister to them. This is the very essence and the subtle charm of a vocation. It puts self in the prominent place. Its special allurements for Hester Raymount is very apparent. It enables her to pose before herself as the central figure of the universe. She is the sun of her own system, graciously shedding refulgent rays upon the satellites that revolve around in adoring contemplation. But these refulgent rays have in them a latent capacity for becoming, in a moment, scorching flames of scathing contempt for any satellite who

shall fail in this duty of uncritical adoration. We have often marvelled how Johnson could tolerate one Boswell. Hester Raymount could have got on comfortably with a dozen. She is an admirable instance of the result of exaggerated self-consciousness in blinding the judgment. What ordinarily intelligent woman would have failed to perceive at once what type of man Lord Gartley was? But he adored—that was enough. He was quite safe from criticism, until he failed in this whole duty of man. This feature in her character is brought out with a vividness which is surely the result of true artistic power, asserting itself in defiance of a faulty conception. Her eccentric cousin tries to warn her that she is investing Lord Gartley with qualities he does not possess, and receives, in return, something very nearly approaching vulgar insolence. A doctor thwarts her obstinate determination to incur all risks of spreading smallpox, lest, as it seems, the souls of those suffering therefrom should perish unless she sang beside their sick beds. To burst forth in singing, in season and out of season, appears to be the main impulse to which her vocation gives rise. As this doctor discreetly removes himself from the results of his rash interference, her temper breaks out in a manner suggestive of the desirability of some restraint being put upon her actions. Then comes Lord Gartley's turn. He meets her coming out of the back slums, leaning on the arm of a street acrobat, with the remnant of a sort of Seven Dials crowd at her heels. What ought he to have done? Of course to have struck an attitude, at once, of ecstatic admiration of the unique beauty of her action. He, however, does what we venture to think ninety-nine men out of every hundred would have done, he manifests surprise. At once suspicion of his unworthiness dawns upon her, and then her low moral tone of action, where honour and good faith are concerned, soon becomes apparent. A further conversation shows that he does not consider it will be her paramount duty, when his wife, to devote herself to visiting poor people who are suffering from infectious complaints. At once he is trampled under foot, with the most unmitigated contempt. All the high flown sentiment in which her action is wrapped up is but an exercise of per-

verted ingenuity,—a thin coat of gilding, through which protrude the bristles of a very ugly fact. She had encouraged Lord Gartley to love her, she had promised to be his wife. At the very moment when he rejects with scorn the possibility that her brother having committed a felony, can make the least difference in his feelings towards herself, she jilts him with the most heartless indifference, merely because he does not share her exalted conceptions of the sacredness of her vocation. The woman who acted thus in real life would be held by honourable people to merit some ugly names. The key note of the girl's whole character is struck in one sentence, 'we cannot *make* anything,' she says, 'but we can help God to make.' A young woman who feels herself able to afford useful aid to Omnipotence, could not be expected to consider herself always under an obligation to abide by the gospel precepts, as they were framed without her assistance. This marvellous suggestion of Hester's, and the remarkable saying of Christopher, her kindred spirit, when he chances upon her unexpectedly, sitting in company with six candles beside the body of a child who has died of smallpox. 'I saw the light shining in darkness, and the darkness comprehending it not,' only induce one to exclaim with old Thomas Fuller—'Beware of expressions which do knock at the door of blasphemy, though without intent to enter in thereat.' The longer we contemplate the character of this ideal of feminine perfection, the more we feel ourselves drifting into sympathy with the little boy who plaintively asked whether he might not be allowed in heaven just one little devil to play with him. Conceive spending eternity in the company of a countless throng of Hester Raymounts!

On the score of low morality we do not remember ever to have seen a religious novel open to such grave censure as Miss Doudney's *What's in a Name?* In the very first chapter we find a clergyman, not certainly represented as an ideally perfect character, but still apparently intended for a good and worthy man, aiding a sickly sentimental young fellow who had been sent to read with him in getting married to the daughter of the village carpenter. As this pupil was of age, had he suddenly presented himself before his tutor, armed with a licence, the latter

must, of course, have married him. But the tutor calls the banns himself, therefore he had, at least, three weeks to meditate over a situation which any honourable man would have settled in five minutes by merely at once communicating with General Jervaux, his pupil's father, and having the young simpleton removed from his house. But this is a trifle to what follows. The young husband dies, and the carpenter's daughter, under the impression that she is dying also, makes over her little girl to the father's family. Of course, she does not die, but recovers, has money left her, educates herself, and reappears on the scene as a young accomplished beautiful widow; and, in this capacity, insinuates herself into the house of her late husband's family, under a feigned name, in order to act as governess to her own child; the master of the house—her father-in-law having died—being her late husband's unmarried brother. Thus she deliberately incurs the risk of what actually happens. Her brother-in-law is exposed to the cruel shock of finding that he has fallen deeply in love with his own sister-in-law. Could heartless treachery go much further? Yet we hear of this viper of a woman praying long and earnestly—the mere suggestion is enough to cause a shudder. The paltry sophistries by which she excuses herself to the nurse—the only member of the household who had ever seen her, and who recognizes her—are nearly as bad as her original action. She had not taken a false name, because she called herself Mrs. Rose, and Rose was her second Christian name! She had not sought the place. She had been offered the situation! Then the nurse, a faithful old family servant, agrees to acquiesce in this infamous deception. In fact, there seems to be hardly a character introduced in the story who has the most ordinary perception of the meaning of truth and honour. When the catastrophe comes, we have not even a burst of honest indignation on the part of the cruelly wronged family. The heroine herself does at last awaken to some sense of repentance. But why? Because she falls in love with a man who is represented as the very soul of honour, and fears the discovery of the lie she has been living will repel him. We have often heard gratitude described as a lively sense of favours to come; this is the first time we have

seen remorse figure as a lively dread of advantages forfeited. She need not have been afraid, however. The soul of honour seems in no way disquieted; all ends happily; and the dear departed, over whose fruitless waiting for her, somewhere the other side of the Styx, she had shortly before wept and wrung her hands, is left to make the best of it. Only the extreme weakness of the story, both in construction and working, prevents it from being glaringly, what it will be to every honourable mind, absolutely revolting. Had Miss Doudney depicted, with any dramatic power, a struggle in the mind of a woman, driven by affection for her child into a course which her conscience condemned, the reader would at once be in sympathy with a severely tempted human being. It is when such a woman is presented to us as all that is good and charming that we rise up in indignation against the attempt to impose upon us.

Is this the highest morality? Are these the noblest ideals that these writers have to set before us? With the sublime story of the four gospels, the lofty morality of the Sermon on the Mount, constantly sounding in their ears, can they rise to no greater heights than these? Can they not even follow, however far off, in the steps of a writer not long passed away (one too—and deeply significant is the fact—whose sentiments respecting Christianity are no secret) in the conception of a Christian ideal? Contrast for a moment Dorothea Brooke with the characters we have been considering. She is no perfect monster; she is faulty, perhaps disappointing; but yet how thoroughly noble, generous, and consistent in her striving after the highest ideal. In the one episode, for instance, of the mistake into which she is accidentally led regarding Ladislaw and Rosamond Lydgate, can anything be finer than her almost immediate impulse, in the midst of all her own indignant resentment, and cruelly wounded feeling, to try and save the woman she believed to be her rival, from entangling herself in a false and inevitably miserable position? The woman in real life who has ever passed through such a painful experience can, perhaps, alone fully appreciate the noble generosity of the action; and must feel that she has set before her an ideal

worthy of the highest type of Christian character, and yet thoroughly human, with which to compare her own thoughts and sentiments. Of course the transcendent ability of such a writer as George Eliot is not for a moment to be generally expected; but surely the religious novelist should be able to reach the same moral platform!

The mention of George Eliot almost involuntarily suggests, in this connection, the admirable sketch in *The Reflections of Theophrastus Such*, entitled, *Moral Swindlers*, where the danger is so forcibly pointed out of practically limiting the question of morality to that of the relations between the sexes. If failure in honourable dealing, in honest truthful action, in unflinching integrity, were fully recognized as constituting immorality, should we have had offered to us as ideals a Hester Raymount, acting the heartless jilt on really no provocation at all, or a Mrs. Henry Jervaux, assuming a part fitted only for a worthless adventuress?

If, then, our religious novels be fair exponents of the average tone of religious thought and sentiment in the present day, we are surely justified in holding that they are sound premises to an unsatisfactory conclusion. That we are not singular in taking an unfavourable view of the whole subject is proved by the tone of an article published some time since in a widely-circulated periodical, under the title—'Is Society Christianized?' It does not seem difficult to detect in the workings of religious life around us the prevalence of those very faults we have been condemning in religious novels. That school of thought which finds expression in what we call ritualism, revels in retreats, confession, the contemplative life, long vigils of private devotion and meditation. The opposite school leans towards self-examination, statements of religious experiences, and the wild excitement of revivals, and the 'front row' of the Salvation Army. But is not the secret source of these varied developments one and the same? Unhealthy subjectivity of thought, resulting in incessant morbid self-contemplation, only too apt sooner or later to merge into that irresistible craving for notoriety, which gives birth alike to wild religious excesses, and stupid purposeless crimes. Again, the persistent

devotion of many really excellent people to very small virtues is too patent to need much comment, and the frequent accompanying characteristics of rigid sectarianism, narrow-mindedness, and violent prejudices, are painfully apparent. But what must we say respecting a low moral tone of action? Were the question put to lawyers in extensive practice, whether they invariably find that clergymen—of all denominations—and those among the laity who make a high religious profession, are those whose conduct is most invariably guided, in spirit at least, by such precepts as—‘Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also; and if any man will sue thee at the law and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also,’ what would be the answer? We have heard the answer, and have heard the retort, which, in substance, amounts pretty much to this, that such lawyers are sons of Belial, incited by the Evil One to rancorous animosity against all that is good. Granting the fact, until it can be proved that the Belialism of their natures is the cause of the facts that come under their notice, we do not see that the retort has much bearing on the question. If, however, anyone objects to such evidence, let him, if he be extensively acquainted with what is called the religious world, try by the test of the gospel precepts all his own experiences of the dealings of high professors of religion, occasionally, with their retainers, or servants; or, if he have the chance, the transactions which sometimes pass between the managing bodies of religious societies, and the officials in their employment. One fact in this connection we may state as an instance, with safety. It happened so many years ago that it cannot cast a possible slur on any present existing body. A man of very upright honourable character, connected with a religious society, but not in a way to have any direct influence on its management, was so struck with a sense of the injustice inflicted upon an offending official, that he drew up a statement of the case and forwarded it, with copies of documents attesting its accuracy, to an eminent lawyer of his acquaintance, for an opinion. The papers were returned to him with this trenchant sentence written on the

margin, and signed with the name of his friend. 'The conduct of the committee of the ——— in this matter, is a disgrace to any body of men calling themselves Christians.' There is too much reticence on these subjects. Many who are keenly conscious of the truth are silent, through fear of giving the enemies of the Lord cause to blaspheme. The enemies of the Lord would have blasphemed to a good deal more purpose had Nathan the prophet palliated, excused, or hushed up the sin he sternly denounced.

What we hold to be as sadly rare as sorely needed is a nobler, loftier ideal of Christian life and practice, as the goal towards which every human being who bears the Christian name should be pressing, in every thought, word, and deed, even though in actual fact he may never attain to it; and in this respect it seems to us that much culpably neglected power lies in the hands of religious novelists. The prevailing want of taste in all that concerns beauty produced by the persistent ugliness of our daily surroundings is a frequent subject of lamentation. Is it not, at least, worth trying, in the field of Christian life, whether constant familiarity with noble imaginative ideals would not have a beneficial effect on ordinary Christian practice? The most thrilling bursts of pulpit eloquence, the sternest denunciations of reformers appear—at least in these days—rarely to do more than excite transient emotional excitement. But if all the mass of religious fiction, perpetually issuing from the press, either in periodicals or isolated publication, should spread broadcast over the land nobler ideals and a loftier tone of religious sentiment, a force, all the mightier for being unobtrusive and unaggressive, would be unceasingly at work to lift us into a purer and more healthy religious atmosphere.

ART. IX.—MR. GLADSTONE AND THE FUTURE OF BRITISH POLITICS.

1. The Jubilee of Mr. Gladstone. Political Speeches in Midlothian, in November and December, 1879, and in March and April, 1880.
2. *The English Citizen. Central Government.* By H. D. TRAILL. *The Electorate and the Legislature.* By SPENCER WALPOLE. *The Poor Law.* By T. W. FOWLE. *The National Budget.* By A. J. WILSON. *Foreign Relations.* By SPENCER WALPOLE. *The State in Relation to Labour.* By W. STANLEY JEVONS. London: 1881, 1882.
3. *The Coming Democracy.* By GEORGE HARWOOD. London: 1882.
4. *Life of Richard Cobden.* By JOHN MORLEY. London: 1881.
5. *Progress and Poverty.* By HENRY GEORGE. London: 1880.
6. *A Handbook to Political Questions of the Day.* Being the Arguments on either Side. By SYDNEY C. BUXTON. London: 1880.
7. *The Science of Politics.* By SHELDON AMOS. London: 1883.

‘PEEL is a Free Trader, and so are Ripon and Gladstone. The last was put in by the Puseyites, who thought they had insinuated the wedge; but they now complain that he has been quite absorbed by Peel, which is the fact.’ Thus, in 1842, wrote Richard Cobden of the present Premier—the greatest extra-official of the greatest official force, that the past half-century of British public life can show. Mr. Gladstone has made his political voyage round the globe since then. His ‘glorious inconsistencies’ flow readily off the tongue. Macaulay’s ‘men of middle ages’ have practically forgotten that the late Lord Derby was an ardent Whig and Reformer till 1835, and that in 1833 he assailed the Irish Church, which he in vain defended in

1866. It is with difficulty that they can realise the fact, that Lord Palmerston, who died the most popular and powerful Liberal Prime Minister of this century with one exception, served in turn under Liverpool, under Canning, and under Grey. The memory of Peel is held in such grateful remembrance, that one is rather slow to believe that his reputation has risen steadily, not only in spite, but by reason, of two 'conversions' which broke up his party, if they did not also break his heart. But even Macaulay's 'schoolboy' knows that Mr. Gladstone was the ardent supporter of the Irish Church in 1839, and yet disestablished and disendowed it in 1869; that he has been the colleague of the Duke of Wellington and the colleague of Mr. Bright; that the Midlothian Campaigner was once the ally of the Duke of Buccleuch; that the successful antagonist of Lord Beaconsfield only a few weeks ago 'strengthened' his Cabinet by giving a prominent post in it to the politician whom at one time Lord Beaconsfield considered his 'natural heir'; that 'that thoroughgoing Liberalism, which extends to every department of thought,' which, in 1866, the present Governor of Madras declared 'the neophyte leader of the Liberals' hated with 'a concentrated malignity,' which, so recently as 1871, described* his mind as 'that busy mint of logical counterfeits,' lately eulogised him, by the mouth of Mr. Chamberlain, as 'the noblest figure in English political history.'

Yet Mr. Gladstone could say with truth that as he was a High Churchman and a Peelite in 1842, so he is a High Churchman and a Peelite still—just as he might maintain that his Eastern policy before and since his second accession to the Premiership is the continuation of the tradition of Canning and Burke, under the shadow of whose names his childhood and early youth were spent. Nor will it avail altogether as a solution of the problem of Mr. Gladstone's 'consistency in inconsistency,' to argue that the moral continuity of his career has been preserved, or to say that his has been 'the true political consistency' which, according to a once eminent but now almost forgotten publicist,†

* *National Education.* By John Morley.

† The late W. R. Greg.

'lies not in always holding the same language, defending the same measures, acting with the same men—but in always having your country's good distinctly and singly in view—that good being estimated, no doubt, on certain first principles.' In a sense, this is true, no doubt; but it is not the whole truth. Mr. Gladstone would probably be the first to admit that he has *not* from first to last been applying 'certain first principles' in politics to the circumstances in which he found himself and the country. He, in effect, did admit his abandonment of the 'first principles' of his politics, in his Parliamentary *apologia* of 1866, when he said to the Liberal party, 'I came among you an outcast from those with whom I associated, driven from them by the slow and resistless force of conviction. I came among you, to make use of the legal phraseology, *in forma pauperis*.' There is in Mr. Gladstone's adhesion for nearly half a century to the principles of Dr. Pusey and Sir Robert Peel something more than 'moral consistency,' or even 'having his country's good distinctly and singly in view.' It means, at the very least, the introduction of religious enthusiasm into the British politics of the nineteenth century, and the suffusion of British partisanship with what Mr. Morley, in his *Life of Cobden*, happily terms a special 'philosophy of civilisation.'

It may be said that a Puseyite in Mr. Gladstone's Oxford days simply meant an earnest Oxonian, just as he himself has told us that a Radical in the earlier portion of his political career simply meant an earnest Liberal. It is true of many men, and especially of many great men of action, who have first distinguished themselves in public by entering heartily into some religious movement, that their doing so has been in effect the sowing of the wild oats of enthusiasm, though, fortunately, not on stony ground. Not that when they throw themselves into the work of the world, they either abandon their early creed, or are consciously unfaithful to it. Rather, their religion, from being a dominating, becomes a pervading, influence. Henceforth, they believe, with the most eloquent of living Scottish preachers, in 'religion in common life,' or they hold with Carlyle that 'all true work is religion'; or they act in the spirit of Sir Jacob Astley's prayer before he charged at Edge Hill, 'O Lord! Thou knowest how busy I must be this day! If I forget Thee, do not

Thou forget me!' The acceptance by our supreme man of action during the last half-century of certain ecclesiastical and theological doctrines, at an early period of his life, was a very different and a much more 'thorough' affair. It was a 'conversion'—as emphatically a 'conversion' as that of Carlyle, our supreme man of letters during the same time, to 'mysticism' by the aid of Goethe. Not to speak of his frequent returns during the leisure hours of a life crowded with secular activities to theological and ecclesiastical discussion, of his paper on *Ecce Homo*, of his public protest against the doctrines of Strauss, of his anti-Vatican pamphlets and magazine articles, there stands out the one important fact that Mr. Gladstone is the first constitutional statesman of eminence in this country, who has publicly appealed to what, for want of a better phrase, may be termed 'religious interests,' who has been warmly supported by religious people, because he has been confessedly and above all things a religious man. One no more thinks of divorcing Mr. Gladstone's creed from his public life than of divorcing Mr. Carlyle's 'mysticism' from his 'Frederick,' or his 'Cromwell,' or his 'Sartor.' How few there are who can tell what was the 'persuasion' of Walpole, of either of the Pitts, of Burke, of Canning, or of Peel? How many there are who suspect that the creed of Fox, of Palmerston, of Beaconsfield, was in the ordinary orthodox sense a 'no-religion'? But who does not know that, on all occasions when health and duty permit, Mr. Gladstone takes an active part in the services of Hawarden Church?

It might be interesting to trace the connection between Mr. Gladstone's religious and Carlyle's 'mystical' enthusiasm and the fact of their being both Scotsmen and of the 'every fibre' type, holding consequently that the true function of religion is to be found in the purification, discipline, and enrichment of human motive, that the only life worth living is that in which the objective portion forms but the complement or transcript of the subjective. To do so would, however, be to go beyond our present purpose. Some time, too, it may be both interesting and desirable to show the influence of the particular form of religious enthusiasm which at Oxford absorbed Mr. Gladstone, to ascertain whether, as is maintained by some, he must unconsciously in the course of his life, have outgrown it, or as the followers of his chief Con-

servative opponent, Lord Salisbury, may contend, has misinterpreted or deserted it, or, finally, whether the mediævalism in which Oxford, by the confession of her own distinguished son, Mr. Arnold, is steeped, did no good to Mr. Gladstone when it led him to High Church doctrines, for *paupertina philosophia in pauper-tinam religionem ducit*. Obviously, however, the time has not yet come when it would be either safe or seemly to attempt to make such investigations or to answer such questions. The one fact with which any honourable or sensible man will concern himself in this connection is that throughout these fifty years of Mr. Gladstone's career, he has been an earnest and enthusiastic Christian. But that fact should not be left out of consideration in estimating the results of these fifty years. Will even the most cynical of his opponents, those who are of opinion that his power in and over his country has been for evil, and that continually, seek to deny that his religion has been his support and stimulus, that without it, or something equivalent to it, he could not have performed the extraordinary intellectual and moral efforts which will be for ever associated with his name?

Even those ingenious folks who find 'Jesuitry,' 'the Pope's toe,' and the like, in all Mr. Gladstone's personal acts, do not profess to see them in the fiscal and other measures which he has passed or helped to pass. But more tolerant people than they may trace Mr. Gladstone's intense realisation of nations as 'Christian societies,' which led to the memorable campaign, that, beginning with the 'Bulgarian Atrocities' agitation, came to a close only with the fall of Lord Beaconsfield's Government, and which is the soul of his Eastern Policy, to his early religious enthusiasm even more than to the family Canning tradition. Then again, it is one of the commonplaces of the history of religions—one, too, which needs illustration less in Scotland than anywhere else—that the earnestly religious man cannot fail to be a Democrat in the sense that he believes with his whole soul that, men are equal in the sight of God. Is it not, therefore, possible that Dr. Pusey may be quite as responsible as Sir Robert Peel for those 'flesh-and-blood' utterances which startled timid thinkers, brought on their author derision from one quarter and hatred from another, which however rendered Household Suffrage

inevitable, and which are now the commonplaces of the platform and the press?

One of the most notable, though perhaps not most frequently noticed, results of the Household Suffrage Act is the kindlier and more respectful language which is now all but universally used of the wage-receiving classes, whose predominance in the electorate will receive further if not final recognition, when that Act is extended to counties. How few public writers or speakers there are who venture to use words of these classes, savouring of contempt or even of pity, such as 'mob' or 'plebeian' or 'proletariat?' Who dares to indulge in invective against 'the Great Unwashed,' although, if we may judge from schemes that are afloat tending to establish 'a peasant proprietary,' or give effect to 'Christian socialism' in legislation, we may yet hear of the Great Landless or the Great Uninsured? Are we not within a measurable distance of realising, at least in sentiment and speech, that abolition of class distinctions which is the dream of the pacific Mr. Bright as it was the dream of the fanatical Robespierre? Probably even Mr. Gladstone, if he were again seeking to define by a pithy phrase the characteristic of Liberalism, would not say it was 'trust of the people tempered with prudence,' for the good reason that he does not wish it to be implied that the Liberal Party and 'the people' are in some way or another distinct associations. He would more probably prefer to say with Mr. Chamberlain, that 'the basis and foundation of the Liberal Party are that it is our bounden duty to secure as far as we can the greatest happiness of the greatest number.'* Yet there is every reason to believe that the speakers and writers about 'the people' now belong to the same social class, and are personally attached to the same 'interests' as speakers and writers in the days of the ten-pounder supremacy. The enormous majority of members of, and candidates for, Parliament are still found, and must be

* If Mr. Gladstone were to adopt and preach the Benthamite doctrine, it might be expected from him as a religious statesman, that he would take care to explain that 'the greatest happiness' does not mean simply 'the greatest material happiness.' It is not capital, but righteousness, that exalteth a nation.

found, in the ranks of the moneyed and leisured. Large and influential daily newspapers are inevitably becoming more and more 'concerns of capital,' owing to the amount of money that is required to found and float them; and it is not to be expected that the writers in them should in a general or hearty way espouse the side of the poor as against the rich, of labourers as against capitalists. Nor will it avail to say that the speakers and writers of the time stand in terror of 'the Democracy.' On the contrary, their great and growing complaint is that 'the Democracy' is 'silent.' So far from trying to intimidate, it merely holds its tongue, and reserves itself for the ballot box. A more generous and also more rational explanation of the increasing respectfulness of the language employed of the great majority of the electorate is that those who use it are every day seeing more clearly that Mr. Gladstone's 'flesh-and-blood' is not a mere sentimental phrase, but a fact of British human nature, and a highly encouraging one. Finally, to partially trace, in a politician so essentially middle-class and commercial by family tradition as Mr. Gladstone, the perception of the 'flesh-and-blood' character of 'the people' to the religious creed which he espoused at Oxford, will seem absurd or even singular only to those who forget that of all the Parties into which the Church of England is at present divided, the most propagandist, the most persistent in its appeals to 'the people,' the readiest to undergo such 'martyrdom' as is now possible, is that Ritualistic Party which traces its origin to, and is certainly the outcome of, High Churchism.

It is, of course, comparatively easy to indicate the Peelite ancestry of most of the achievements which bulk so largely in Mr. Gladstone's career and in a political retrospect of the past fifty years. The fiscal measures of this period, the persistent but not yet completed readjustment of taxation, the abolition of the paper duty, the conclusion of a Free Trade Treaty with France, the movements in the direction of a free breakfast table on the one hand, and of submitting international disputes to arbitration on the other, the establishment of the third-class train and the Postal Savings Banks—in these and the hundred other financial and economical successes which followed in the wake of the abolition of the Corn Laws, the hand, not only of Mr. Gladstone, but of

Mr. Gladstone's political master is to be seen. It may be said that Mr. Gladstone has surpassed his master. That may or may not be; perhaps we should remember that comparisons are odious, and that Mr. Gladstone was 'caught' sooner than Peel, and had not such social and party difficulties to contend with.

But they were both 'caught,' and by what? It is to this question that Mr. Morley's *Life of Cobden* supplies an answer. Long before that biography was published, indeed, the enormous influence that not only the movement of which Cobden was the soul and brain, but the personality of Cobden himself, had upon Peel, and through Peel upon Mr. Gladstone, was well known. What Mr. Morley makes clear as they had never been made clear before, are the single-mindedness, the warm-heartedness, the all-conquering candour, the passionate social enthusiasm of the man. Speaking of him on the threshold of his career, Mr. Morley says, 'though he was shortly to become the leader of a commercial movement, he never ceased to be the preacher of a philosophy of civilisation; and his views on trade were only another side of his views on education and morality. Realist as he was, yet his opinions were inspired and enriched by the genius of social imagination.' The author of the 'Bagman's Millennium' was a worshipper of 'heart.' When he enters Parliament he is first attracted by 'hearty old Wallace of Kelly,' the history of whose work, as the pioneer of Cobden, has yet to be done justice to. When he comes to know Mr. Gladstone, to perceive that he is something more than an 'aide-de-camp of Peel', and to subject him as he did Peel to 'moral and intellectual pressure,' and with a like success, he states his preference for him over the other members of the Palmerston Cabinet as the one man in it who sometimes lets his 'heart guide his head.' Cobden, it is plain, was an equalitarian and Democrat much as Burns and Fox were equalitarians and Democrats. He says bitterer things of the aristocracy than either. When he first visits Scotland, he reverently worships at the shrine of the poet of fraternity, of love, of the ethics of the heart. He takes his definition of liberty from Cowper, who anticipated Burns and Wordsworth—may we not add Goethe and Darwin?—in tremulous sensitiveness to man's community

with Nature, and subjection to its order. When he again visits Scotland on his Free Trade crusade, he is delighted to find in it such an appreciation of the rights of man,*—though not spelled in capitals, much less in letters of blood and fire, not associated with a revolt against religion, but in themselves the results of two centuries of Presbyterian parity. Later in life, he writes more bitterly of the middle classes for imitating and hanging on the skirts of the aristocracy, than he had formerly written of the aristocracy themselves. He asks impatiently if the working classes are not to produce a Spartacus. He sees through 'the intrigue' which hurried Garibaldi from our shores in the Duke of Sutherland's yacht, in case the enthusiasm of the British 'masses' for the heroic enemy of orders and tyrannies, and lover of free peoples, should take some practical shape. Mr. Morley should have completed his picture of Cobden as the 'preacher of a philosophy of civilisation,' by saying that his views on trade were only another side of his views on politics, as well as on morality and education.

Times without number it has been pointed out that the doctrines of Cobden, to which Peel and Mr. Gladstone were converted, and to which they gave effect in legislation, are not original. Pitt was a Free Trader. Adam Smith was a Free Trader. The ante-revolutionary economists in France who started from the theory that all men originally had equal rights, and that every man ought to have liberty to employ his time, his hands, and his brains for his own advantage, but who, like the Voltaireans and unlike the Rousseauists, had no hope of ignorant and oppressed masses being able to 'save themselves,' were passionate advocates of freedom of trade, of agriculture, of speech. Cobden himself never claimed originality for his views; the wiser of his admirers have never claimed it. What fairly may be claimed for him is that at the moment he began to take an active part in public life, he saw precisely where the shoe pinched, and how alone the foot could be relieved. He hated Privilege with a perfect hatred. He had

* "Paine is no fool," said Pitt to his niece, quoting from *The Rights of Man*. "He is perhaps right; but if I did what he wants, I should have thousands of bandits on my hands to-morrow, and London burnt."

a passionate desire to add to the happiness of the mass—the ‘great disinherited’—of his countrymen and of mankind. Probably no man of his time was so full of the enthusiasm of humanity, or of what an able American writer, the late Mr. Henry James, emphasises as ‘the social sense,’ and of which he maintains with some show of reason, that the late Mr. Carlyle was unhappily for himself devoid.

But Cobden’s judgment was equal to his heart, and regulated and directed his enthusiasm. He saw how vain, how preposterous, it would be to attempt to carry the fortress of Privilege—say to abolish the House of Lords or the Church of England, or even Primogeniture and Entail—by open assault. He saw that some thing more was required to rouse in the poor that hope which is the beginning of self-help, than sentimental benevolence; though, by the way, Mr. Morley and writers of his school seem inclined to do less than justice alike to clerical philanthropists of the type of Maurice,* and to literary artists of the type of Victor Hugo and Dickens—the one may have prepared certain very unlikely soil for the good seed, and always maintained that ‘happiness’ has a moral side, and the others at least threw a lurid light on the sufferings caused by the pinching of the social shoe. What Cobden did as a preacher of a philosophy of civilisation, was to breathe upon the dry bones of ‘the dismal science’ till they lived, to ‘touch Political Economy with emotion,’ to arouse large masses of men to an all-powerful enthusiasm for the doctrine, that one of the best ways in which one can shew his love for his poorer neighbour, is by aiding his material well-being, even at the expense, directly or indirectly, of his own pocket. What he did as a practical non-official statesman was to begin the reduction of the fortress of Privilege by sapping and mining; and above all to bring over to his side the two men most capable, by their position and character, to complete in Parliament the work which he had begun in the country. If there is not here political genius and of the first order, where is such to be found?

* May not the special legislation of the last half century, which is so honourably associated with the name of Shaftesbury, be traced to a philanthropy which is religious in essence, though certainly not Maurician?

It is morally certain that Cobden found the conversion of Mr. Gladstone to his 'philosophy of civilisation' a less difficult task than to pierce through the reserve of Peel to his heart, and persuade him to sunder cherished ties and surrender power at the call of conscience. There is a ring of tragic pathos in the words with which Peel closed the last speech he delivered as a Minister, 'I shall surrender power—severely censured, I fear, by hon. gentlemen who, from no interested motives, have adhered to the principle of Protection as important to the welfare and interest of the country. I shall leave a name execrated by every monopolist, who, from less honourable motives, maintains Protection for his own individual benefit. But it may be that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of goodwill in those places which are the abode of men whose lot it is to labour and to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow—a name remembered with expressions of goodwill, when they shall recreate their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened with a sense of injustice.' This certainly reads like the language of a man who was conscious that in gaining a great moral victory—a victory over his individual and class prejudices—he had thrown away the chance of gaining any fresh personal or party victories, that henceforward there was nothing for him to fall back upon but conscience, posterity, and the goodwill of his humbler countrymen. But it also showed that Peel had been fired with Cobden's 'social imagination,' that he had been 'permeated'—to use the phrase that Sir Charles Dilke has made popular—by Cobden's 'philosophy of civilisation,' which was long ago stated in the American Declaration of Independence when it placed 'the pursuit of happiness' among 'the inalienable rights' of humanity, and which has been less vaguely, less rhetorically, but not less decidedly re-affirmed by Mr. Giffen, one of the best known and also most moderate of the financial writers of the present day, when he said, 'Command of the means of enjoyment is in truth the beginning of civilisation.'

Mr. Gladstone entered the Peel Administration specially prepared to receive the Cobden 'philosophy of civilisation.' He was full of the generosity and optimism of youth. He was saturated

with the tradition of Canning, the principle of which, on the side of domestic politics, he has himself described as 'the establishment of free commercial interchanges between nations.' Above all, he brought to the aid of Peel the spirit of the man who had become earnestly religious, and had become full of that 'enthusiasm of humanity,' which is at the bottom of all earnest religions,* and which Lord Sherbrooke, when Mr. Lowe, discovered a 'maudlin' amount of in the Reform Bill he did so much to destroy. The story of the 'conversion' of Mr. Gladstone to the Cobden 'philosophy of civilisation' has yet to be told. Perhaps, indeed, the process was so short and easy that, practically, 'story there is none.' In any case, the 'conversion' has been complete—unless, indeed, the two 'hateful incidents' of coercion in Ireland, and the suppression of 'a military rebellion' in Egypt, upon which the 'silent democracy' has not yet fully pronounced be proved by history, to be lapses, in the one case from Cobden, in the other from Canning, principles. No British statesman has shown himself so full of 'the social sense' as Mr. Gladstone. It is this which has made his Budgets 'the poetry of statistics.' It is this which has made him revel in figures and 'dry business,' and find delight and health in what ordinary men would not only consider but find killing drudgery. It is his consciousness of faith in what he has himself termed 'the social forces which move on in their might and majesty, and which the tumult of our debates does not for a moment impede or disturb,' that has inspired some of his greatest speeches, that rendered successful, perhaps even possible, that 'supreme intellectual effort,' the Midlothian Campaign. Further, his strong 'social sense' is to be traced alike in the conception and in the execution of those

* 'True religion,' said the late M. Gambetta, on the 28th August, 1881, to a large audience which had just been addressed by M. Paul Bert on the subject of Moral and Religious Teaching, 'for that sublime word means the bond between man and man, is that which enables a man on meeting his fellow to respect both his own and the other's dignity based on equity and liberty.' The creed professed by, or at least attributed to, M. Gambetta was very different from Mr. Gladstone's, but the two statesmen probably agreed in considering religion as 'the bond between man and man.'

financial measures which have given to large masses of his countrymen that 'command of the means of enjoyment' which 'is in truth the beginning of civilisation.'

Finally, the Cobden 'philosophy of civilisation,' the enthusiasm of material benevolence, may be found at the bottom of the Irish Land Act, the latest of Mr. Gladstone's legislative achievements of the first class. Old fashioned and plain spoken Toryism has described it as 'hush money to Irish rebels,' and as 'taking money out of the pockets of the landlords and putting it into the pockets of the tenants,' as at the best, 'visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children.' Alarmist or pedantic economists see in it a 'death-blow to the cardinal doctrine of freedom of contract.' More moderate thinkers, who see no divine right in property, who see in its 'magic' only the instinct which makes a man unwilling to part with, and anxious to retain, the fruits of his own labour, who hold that in face of a great national calamity or of a social war, *salus populi suprema lex*, find in the Land Act only 'a taking away of some property in order to secure the rest.' There may be a certain amount of truth in some of these views of the Irish Land Act. There may even be a tittle of truth in all, though stated in certain cases with acridity rather than amenity. But in that measure, and still more in its complement, the Arrears Act, and in the new suggestion which has received the adhesion of the present Colonial Secretary, that the State should provide suffering Irish peasants with funds to enable them to emigrate, may be also found the Cobden 'economic Radicalism,' which believes that under certain circumstances the State cannot do better for the civilisation of masses or classes of the community than aid their material well being, or entrust them with property, although it must obtain that property from the nation at large, or from the 'interest' that through its own, or hereditary, fault has brought about the extraordinary calamity which has required so extraordinary a remedy.

It was natural, it was, barring accidents, inevitable, that Mr. Gladstone, his High Churchism complemented, and enriched by the Cobden philosophy, should, when driven by 'the resistless force of conviction,' find himself in the Liberal camp. 'With Canning

I rejoiced in the removal of religious disabilities ;' in other words he was, like Canning, half a Whig, before he fell under the spells of Pusey and Peel. From the removal of religious disabilities, to the establishment of religious equality in Ireland,—that may be a long, but it is a straight journey. Although he came to the Liberal from the Conservative Party an 'outcast,' and *in forma pauperis*, he brought with him Peace and Retrenchment, in other words, two-thirds of the 'robust Liberal' as distinguished from the 'plain Whig' programme. According to Lord Sherbrooke, after he had accepted Chœroneia, and before he found himself in the enervating atmosphere of the House of Lords, one of the marks of a true Liberal is that he aims at an ideal standard, that he respects institutions not because they are, but because they ought to be. As has been already shown, Cobden was an idealist as well as a realist. He was indeed so great a realist, because he was an idealist. Even the phrase, 'A Bagman's Millennium,' does not convey a denial of Cobden's ideal ; it only sneers at it as being a poor and unworthy one. As a Cobdenite, therefore, Mr. Gladstone brought to Liberalism one very important note of a true Liberal, that in virtue of which he is enthusiastic and aggressive. 'Thorough-going Liberalism' again aims at the attainment of the greatest happiness of the greatest number through the abolition of all artificial inequalities between men, using only peaceful means, or what the late Mr. Bagehot styles 'government by discussion' to attain its end. High Churchism, or for that matter every earnest Christian creed, teaches the equality of men before God, and also inculcates the use of moral means only for the attainment of righteous ends. Finally, Cobdenism, as we have seen, saps Privilege, which is only another name for artificial inequality, it seeks to remove material inequalities, in the interests of civilisation, by a better distribution of 'the means of enjoyments.' When, therefore, Mr. Gladstone became a Reformer, it was inevitable that he should become, if somewhat slowly, a thorough Reformer, that he should put his mark even on the Household Suffrage Act of his rival, that he should enact the Ballot, that the assimilation of the County to the Burgh Franchise should under his second Premiership be in sight. Another and a

supreme mark of a 'true Liberal,' again to refer to Lord Sherbrooke, is to 'subordinate personal, sectional, and local to national interests.' It will certainly be allowed by even the bitterest opponents of Mr. Gladstone, that he has never consulted the benefit of, or sought to base his popularity on, any particular coterie, class, or interest, but has achieved all his victories by appeals to the people at large; indeed, their chief complaint against him is that he has done so systematically. 'The People's William,' of a few years ago, expressed a certain amount of truth, although somewhat ludicrously put, just as 'The Great Commoner' expressed a certain amount of truth, although somewhat theatrically put, a hundred years before.

It has, however, been the 'crowning miracle' of Mr. Gladstone's career, to live to be not only the greatest Liberal Minister of the nineteenth century, but, in the most literal of senses, to—

Become, on Fortune's crowning slope,
The pillar of a people's hope.

He is allowed, by one of the most active of his colleagues, to be 'head and shoulders above his compeers.' That member of his original Cabinet after the last General Election, who was the first to leave him, has since spoken of people 'surrendering their reason and conscience' to him. He has, especially during last year, been accused of being a 'Dictator,' of getting the House of Commons to agree to a change in its Rules of Procedure, in order that he may exercise 'Personal Power' more freely, promptly, and autocratically. There can be little question that 'the new Democracy' was not enthusiastic for intervention in Egypt last year. Mr. Chamberlain, who, whatever else may be laid to his charge, cannot be accused of not endeavouring to ascertain what the 'new Democracy' is thinking and aiming at, has practically admitted as much. Yet it so trusted Mr. Gladstone from past experience, that, as the acknowledged failure of Sir Wilfred Lawson to arouse the country last year against intervention in Egypt proved, it consented, without giving a special mandate, to his doing things for which it had, to say the least, no special relish. That may be styled 'Personal Power,' if any one chooses; but it is at least permissible to contend that it is only the 'Personal Power' of the old confidential

lawyer who sometimes anticipates his client's wish, or even overrides it in an hour of emergency, in the moral certainty that his action will be understood and approved of when his employer comes to reflect.

But the British nation is and must be a business as well as an earnest and liberty-loving one. Mr. Gladstone's 'undoubted paramountcy' in British politics in the days of 'uncrowned Democracy,' is due not only to his being a profoundly religious and therefore profoundly earnest man, and to his having been 'possessed' by a philosophy of civilisation which presses forward towards the abolition of artificial inequalities, and the better distribution of the means of enjoyment, but to his being a supreme man of business. This aspect of Mr. Gladstone's 'Personal Power' was adequately expressed some time ago, by the *Pall Mall Gazette*,—not the old *Pall Mall Gazette* which was written 'by gentlemen for gentlemen,' but the new *Pall Mall Gazette*, which to judge from its tone, would not object to being described as written 'by plain men for plain men'—when it said, 'Mr. Gladstone has suffused politics with what enemies call sentimentalism, but what we shall call morality, justice, humanity, and passion for improvement. And the new Democracy have seen that this in his case went with experience, and a hard-headed faculty for figures and money and business, and with unrivalled powers of expression and argument.'

Every important period in a nation's history has a typical man; and Mr. Gladstone is our typical politician of the last half century. He is however typical, on the late Lord Beaconsfield's theory, in virtue of his being more receptive than any of his contemporaries of the spirit of his age, and more capable of giving expression to it in action and legislation. And what is that spirit which has brooded over the half century, and which at its close is enthroned in the 'Personal Power' of Mr. Gladstone? It cannot we think be better expressed than in the words of Professor Huxley, the ablest literary exponent of the Evolutionary Philosophy, and the most eloquent and persistent preacher of Evolution in common life: 'Reason has asserted and exercised her primacy over all departments of human life . . . The good of the governed has been finally recognised as the end of

government, and the complete responsibility of governors to the people as its means.' Nor would it be difficult to prove that, in regard to this matter of the primacy of reason exerted in politics to secure the good—which need not necessarily be to gratify the whims—of the governed—Carlylian philosophy is for once at one with Evolutionary. 'The rights of man properly considered,' says Mr. Froude, 'means the right of the wise to rule, and the right of the ignorant to be ruled.' 'The gospel of force,' of the divine right of the strong, with which Carlyle has been so often taunted with teaching, merely meant that when a man has visibly exercised any great power in this world, it has been because he has truly and faithfully seen into the facts around him, seen them more accurately, and interpreted them more correctly than his contemporaries. He has become in himself, as it were, one of Nature's forces, imperatively insisting that certain things must be done. Success may blind him,* and then he mis-sees the facts, and comes to ruin. But while his strength remains, he is strong through the workings of a power greater than himself.' When all is said and done, is not the strength of Mr. Gladstone—the secret alike of his inconsistencies and his popularity—to be found in his reasonableness—'sweet reasonableness' when possible; aggressive, enthusiastic, impassioned reasonableness, when necessary; resolute reasonableness at all personal hazards?

It is possible that a short period of political rest may date from the disappearance of Mr. Gladstone from the arena of active politics—an event of the approach of which his inability to visit Mid-lothian in the beginning of this year warns us—

* A lively if fanciful French writer of the 'Pacific Democracy' school of M. Clemenceau, carries the natural history of Mr. Gladstone further than has been attempted here, and traces a number of events in his career to his commercial or *bourgeois* ancestry, a process which he also performs in the case of M. Gambetta. 'The fall' of Mr. Gladstone, in the esteem of posterity, is dated from the imprisonment of Mr. Parnell in Kilmainham, and the Egyptian expedition. The one event was due, we are asked to believe, to *bourgeois* petulance, egotism, and dislike of contradiction. The other is attributed to *bourgeois* fondness for military display; and besides Mr. Gladstone was 'got at' by the British 'financing' interest in the shape of the Bondholders. In short, we are asked by this writer to believe that High Churchism, the Cobden 'Philosophy of Civilisation' and Liberalism, have 'scotched, not killed, the *bourgeois* in the blood' of Mr. Gladstone!

the completion, by the passing of the County Franchise and Corrupt Practices Acts, of the transference of electoral supremacy from the propertied to the wage receiving classes, begun by the Reform Act of 1867; a redistribution of seats; and the settlement of the Local Government Question, not for Scotland and England only, but for the United Kingdom. The prominence circumstances have compelled Parliament and the Government to give to Ireland during the past two years, and the fact that it has yet to be proved if the new Rules of Procedure have throttled obstruction, are no doubt, omens the character of which cannot be misinterpreted. A great national calamity, such as severe agricultural depression, might bring the Land Question at once to the front.* The House of Lords may throw out the County Franchise Bill, especially if it is not accompanied by a Redistribution of Seats Bill; and in that case there might be expected an agitation over the continuance of an Upper House to which that caused by the rejection of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill in 1880 would be a trifle. But it is impossible to prepare against the unexpected; the utmost that can be done is to face it courageously when it presents itself. It seems reasonable to expect that the next half century of British politics will begin with the rounding off of the work of the last, in the shape of the passing of the residuary measures already mentioned. Remembering always, with one of our most thoughtful Scottish politicians, that 'the division into the upper, middle, and lower classes, is purely arbitrary, is merely a loose, though convenient, way of lumping together an immense variety of social strata, which are again laterally divided in innumerable ways,' we may expect the next half century to begin with the final surrender to the working from the middle class of that electoral supremacy which the last half century began with transferring from the upper to the middle.

It would seem almost inevitable that the completion of the

* The fact that, since these words were written, it has become morally certain that the Tenant Right question will claim precedence of the Local Government Bill in the session now beginning, has a significance which it is quite unnecessary to dwell upon.

political work of the last half century should be followed by national uncertainty and party transition. Not that the rest we have hinted at will be of the arm chair sort; on the contrary, a Democracy merely *recule pour mieux sauter*. The wage receiving class, arrived at last in the land of promise, can hardly fail to rub its eyes and pull itself together before proceeding actually to take possession. It will find all the citadels of government by discussion—the House of Commons and the Press—in the hands of the leisured and moneyed classes. Will it proceed to conquer these citadels at once, or will it wait to see if they do not surrender at discretion? Will it continue to choose its ‘leaders’ and ‘governors’ from the ranks of the leisured, these latter, in the words of Mr. Sheldon Amos, in his *Science of Politics*, ‘ceasing altogether to be presumed to be wiser or better than the rest of the community,’ ‘merely enjoying the privilege of serving it,’ being in fact ‘specialists in their own art?’ Will it apply its machinery of organization and co-operation, which has achieved such wonders in other fields of activity, to politics? Will it, by means of Labour Leagues and other associations, secure the monopoly of representation? Will it take advantage of the reduction in the expenses of elections, which Mr. Gladstone hopes may be the result of the Corrupt Practices Bill, the passing of which will precede the County Franchise settlement, to return its own paid members? Or finally, will it devote itself at once to compelling the Legislature to pass measures for the material improvement of its own condition, for the better distribution of wealth and property, and the means of enjoyment generally? It cannot be said that any one of these things is absolutely incredible, though none of them may have yet come within the range of practical politics. But it may pretty safely be said that some time must elapse before the new Democracy makes its mind known, perhaps even before it makes its mind up. The publicists and politicians of the time confess generally to doubt, though not generally to alarm, as to the future; and that is so in part because they do not belong to, or at least do not directly represent, the new electorate. The General Elections of 1868, 1874, and 1880,—and still more, the bye-elections that took place between them, were confessedly full of ‘surprises.’ Reflec-

tive journals like the *Spectator* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*,—not to speak of other and Scottish journals that are, as they are, the organs of independent reason, and not of any 'interest,'—repeatedly remark on the 'silence' of our own as yet incomplete Democracy, its apparent habit of quietly forming its own opinions of men and measures, and dropping them in the ballot box as opportunity offers. The agricultural householders are morally certain to be more 'silent' than their urban brethren, who, until recently had superior educational advantages, and have shown greater capacity for association and for the discussion that association promotes.

This national uncertainty is aggravated by the fact that the statesman who will be to the next half, or even to the next quarter century what Mr. Gladstone has been to the last half, has yet to be indicated. It is possible, as already hinted, that the 'working' electorate, like the middle and upper classes before it, may choose its own leaders. In all probability, it will do so when it has reaped the advantage of that superior education which Mr. Chamberlain thinks it is entitled to, at the expense of the community. But, in the meantime, it may be expected to select its leaders from the politicians it finds in possession, and so far tried, and not found wanting. Leaving Conservative statesmen out of consideration, not that they are inferior to their rivals, or because the new electorate may not exert pressure upon them, as the electorate created by the Reform Bill of 1832 exerted pressure upon Sir Robert Peel, but simply because, to all appearance, they will not be in possession when Mr. Gladstone retires from active politics, and because they certainly do not profess a willingness to perpetuate the Gladstone tradition, we are forced to look out for a successor to the Premier in his own Administration. The Cabinet, as reconstituted, may be supposed to contain the *élite* of that Administration in the opinion of Mr. Gladstone, if not of the nation also. Including Mr. Gladstone, it consists of fourteen men whose average age is fifty-six; excluding Mr. Gladstone, the average Cabinet age is fifty-four. It is no doubt true that politicians in this country come, as a rule, to supreme power at a much later age than they once did. Sir Charles Dilke is the only

member of the present Cabinet who is not as old as the second Pitt was when he died; and the tendency in more Democratic times than the present is not likely to be the other way. It is also true that Mr. Gladstone has given the country a splendid example of a statesman doing his greatest and politically most advanced work after sixty. But we cannot calculate on Achilles making his appearance twice in a century. A sexagenarian may be Premier; in all probability a sexagenarian would be Premier, were Mr. Gladstone to retire tomorrow. But no man should be expected to become a progressive force in our politics after fifty. Applying this negative rule to the case of the present Cabinet, we find the hopes of true and progressive Liberal leadership for the next half, or at least for the next quarter century, confined to four of its members, Lord Hartington who is in his fiftieth, Lord Spencer who is in his forty-eighth, Mr. Chamberlain who is in his forty-seventh, and Sir Charles Dilke who is in his fortieth year.

Public opinion coincides substantially with the results of the application of this rule, for, if Lord Spencer is not freely mentioned for the real or ultimate succession to the Liberal leadership, it is simply because his health is understood not to be equal to the strain of a commanding position in British public life, under nineteenth century conditions. It is possible, indeed, that 'the coming man' may be found in that portion of the Administration which is outside the Cabinet. A Scottish member, who is also half a Scotsman by blood, has undoubtedly gained a high reputation by his recent work in Ireland. No member of the Administration is more popular than the Postmaster-General; and but for the physical disability under which he labours, there is no position he might not, from his popularity, aspire to. The Secretary to the Treasury is generally believed to be a 'strong' man, and a judicious administrator; and in the opinion of many he is our 'reserve force' in politics. Finally, the Scottish people with that generosity which characterises Democracies—if they are large and intelligent enough—has clearly indicated its hope that a great and useful career is in store for a young nobleman, occupying an officially subordinate but personally influential position in the Administration, who has shown ambition, administrative tact and industry,

a genial humour, and quick appreciation of the emotional side of national life. But even when to Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain, and Sir Charles Dilke, are added the various extra-Cabinet 'forces,' 'hopes,' and 'possibilities,' that may be thought, and are gossiped, of, it will yet be allowed that no one man stands in front of his contemporaries as having exhibited by personal achievement, or by wide reaching popularity, his right to step into Mr. Gladstone's place.* Within the last few weeks, Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, and Lord Hartington, have in turn spoken to this effect; and there are no better authorities on the subject. There can hardly fail to be competition, perhaps indirect rather than direct, for power rather than place, marked, let us hope, by generosity rather than envy or jealousy, but none the less real for all that. The competition may be expected to result in the survival of the fittest for the work of the nation. But so long as there is personal competition, there must be uncertainty.

The advent of the new electorate to power can hardly fail to be accompanied or followed by some Party readjustments. Although Mr. Harwood in his *Coming Democracy* assumes, rather than proves, that when in power the working men will act in much the same way as the middle and upper classes have done before them, and be, indeed, somewhat more Conservative; and, although it should never be forgotten that no authoritative utterance on the subject has been heard from the working men themselves, there is no reason to believe that government by party will disappear, until, at all events, the transformation of the functions and character of government, which has been

* It may be worth noting in connection with the possible 'coming men' who have been mentioned, that none of them has been identified early in life with a strong subjective enthusiasm as Mr. Gladstone was. Broad Churchism has not yet produced a great statesman. The only enthusiasm at all comparable to the Premier's early 'Puseyism' are the 'thorough-going Liberalism extending to every department of thought' with a manifesto of which Mr. Chamberlain started on his purely political career, and the early declaration (Nov. 7, 1871) of Sir Charles Dilke 'that a Republic here is only a matter of education and time.' Since he became a Cabinet Minister, however, Sir Charles has alluded to, if not practically repudiated, this declaration as that of a somewhat 'scatterbrained' young man.

been silently going on, be completed. It has its advantages from the business point of view, and the new electors are not likely to do without it, unless some better system can be recommended in its place. Then, again, the impulses which really govern the two great Parties in the State, and which renders the Laureate's—

Let Whig and Tory stir their blood,
There must be stormy weather ;
But sure for some result of good
All parties work together.

something better than 'the political gospel of curates and women,' must remain, being facts of human nature. Liberalism, viewed not as the organ of middle class government, but as a force moving towards an ideal standard, and towards the abolition of artificial inequalities; and Conservatism, viewed not as the organ of aristocratic ascendancy, but as a force that tends to preserve what is best in our institutions, and to maintain a high standard of manners, culture, and feeling in the community, may surely be expected to be as influential in the future as they have been in the past. But it is equally reasonable to expect that many members of both Parties, who have not quite realised the character of the changes involved in the transference of political power which will be completed when the County Franchise Act is passed, will, when they do realise it, go from the one camp to the other. The 'moderate Liberals' who threatened to do so much, but yet did so little, at the last General Election, may definitively join the anti-democratic forces. Young Conservatives who are fired with the idea of a 'Tory Democracy' may live to give up Toryism and hold only by Democracy. There have been coalitions before, and though 'England does not love them,' according to the late Lord Beaconsfield, they may play their part again. They certainly would play their part if anything like a struggle between classes were to be the result of the shifting of the political centre of gravity from property to wages.

It is fashionable at the present time to contrast Liberal union with Conservative disunion, and the fashion is not without justification. But there have been degrees of Liberalism and dissensions in the Liberal Party in the past, and why should there not be such in the future? Only the blindest partisanship

will deny that, were a sweeping agrarian measure, instead of a mere Compensation for Improvements Bill, to be forced by the new electorate or by some great calamity of nature on Parliament, it would 'split the Liberal Party. Only forensic partisanship will deny that, even at the present moment, the fundamental Liberalism of Lord Hartington is a very different thing from the fundamental Liberalism of Mr. Chamberlain. The question of Ireland may become once more a burning one. Mr. Chamberlain admitted as much a few weeks ago at Ashton, and Lord Hartington did not deny it in the course of his recent speeches in Lancashire, which, owing to the inability of the Premier to fulfil his Mid-lothian engagements last month, have naturally been regarded as the most authoritative Liberal utterances of the Recess. Yet Lord Hartington is manifestly not at one with several of his chief colleagues in regard to the Irish Question. Obviously he would do nothing more than what has been done during the last two years, certainly do nothing more than 'administer the ordinary and the extraordinary law.' While Mr. Chamberlain says that 'as long as Ireland is without any institutions of local government worthy of the name—as long as nothing is done to cultivate the sense of responsibility among the people—so long the seeds of discontent and disloyalty may remain,' Lord Hartington holds that 'it would be madness to give to Ireland more extended self-government unless we can receive from the representatives of the Irish people some assurance that this boon would not be misused for the purposes of agitation, and for the purpose of weakening the authority and the power of Government.' He also believes that 'wholesale emigration is a delusion,' and that 'there could be no more fatal mistake' than to let the Irish people suppose that something of the kind may be tried. Yet Lord Derby said on the eve of his entering the Cabinet, 'I believe that some millions spent in promoting Irish emigration would pay us well.'* If such differences

* A rather ingenious attempt has been made to show that Lord Hartington is really at one with Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Derby, because he is not absolutely opposed to local self-government or emigration for Ireland. But Lord Derby's words lose their meaning if it is not practically 'wholesale emigration' that they imply. Moreover, Mr. Chamberlain has, at Swansea, made it absolutely

of opinion, tending possibly to the rupture of party associations, exist now, with the whole enormous personal influence of Mr. Gladstone used to preserve union, what may not be expected when that influence is no longer in exercise, and when with the accession of the new electorate new questions arise, probably of a graver character than the old, certainly more calculated to provoke dissensions?

It would be rash, and it would probably be useless, to indulge in too many speculations as to what the new Democracy will do when it becomes an active force in British politics. Mr. Harwood appears to expect that it will show itself aggressive, and enamoured of 'a spirited foreign policy.' But he gives no ground for the faith that is in him. Historical parallels are utterly misleading. The Athenian Democracy was one only in name. The United States have just been pronounced, after personal inspection by Mr. Herbert Spencer, the most ardent sociological student of the time, to be a paper rather than a genuine Democracy,—a community, that is to say, which has not arrived at Democracy by a process of political evolution. Even as the American Union stands, it cannot be said to be warlike or aggressive, outside the domain of the 'Monroe doctrine.' It will evidently be wise as well as generous to follow the advice of Professor Huxley, and give France a hundred years after the great Revolution to settle down, before pronouncing either as to the tendencies of its domestic or of its foreign policy. There is considerable political confusion in that great country at the present moment, but there is no evidence, in spite of the intrigues of Bourse speculators and professional politicians, that either the *ouvrier* or the *paysan* is desirous to meddle with nationalities outside France, or is ambitious of military glory, but rather the reverse. Here, the quiet demeanour recently manifested by the labouring class both in town and country, in presence of Irish outrage and its languid acquiescence in Mr. Gladstone's Egyptian policy, might fairly be quoted as evidence that the British Democracy is pacific, and inclined to let other nationalities—or

clear that it is a practically unconditioned self-government that he would grant to Ireland as to England and Scotland.

even what claim to be nationalities—mind their own affairs, even though they may have to 'stew in their own juice,' or 'work out their own political salvation.' Some writers think that the new Democracy will press forward towards the realisation of its own ideal; that the Householders will move at once in the direction of Universal Suffrage. All that can be said on this head is that the Householders have up to the present moment kept their counsel to themselves. The *Spectator*, again, has lately expressed the opinion that although there is no formal Republican Party in the country, a good deal of quiet Republican sentiment, or crypto-Republicanism, exists, especially, of course, in the artisan-peasant electorate. That may be, but time only can show.

In attempting to forecast the next half century of British politics—always making allowance for the unexpected—it would be safer and more in accordance at once with historical precedent and with the actual signs of the times, to expect events to take such a course as they did after the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832. Just as the middle and sub-middle classes set to work to improve their own well-being, before extending the suffrage to the classes socially below them, so the classes which will be finally 'emancipated' by the Household Suffrage Act of, say, 1884, may be expected to set to work in the first place to improve *their* well-being in the lines of the Cobden and Shaftesbury legislation. Although no working man programme has yet been formulated, although no working man League has yet been formed, although 'the genius of social imagination' in the person of a Cobden has yet to appear on the scene and kindle a national enthusiasm, there are not wanting straws to show how the wind is to blow. Within the last few weeks, Mr. Chamberlain has been taken severely to task by a section of the Press for having advocated Socialistic opinions at Birmingham, in a speech which he delivered in favour of a gratuitous system of public education of the best quality. As a matter of fact, Mr. Chamberlain simply reproduced in a very emphatic manner, and with the authority of a Cabinet Minister, one portion of his old *Fortnightly Review* 'Liberalism of the Future'—Free Land, Free Schools, Free Churches. But the vigour with which he denounced the inequality of conditions which result from modern industrialism has led to the belief that

he and 'the new Radicalism' which he represents, if he is not its leader, would have the State interfere to remove that inequality. It is plain enough, especially to 'the plain man,' that if the State interferes and gives, at the expense of the community, a first-class education—what M. Gambetta styled that 'social capital, the best of all capitals, which gives every man who comes into the world the means of gaining all other capitals,'—it may interfere to give other things.

Another sign of the times is the belief growing into a passion that something must be done for the mitigation, if not the abolition, of that pauperism which hangs as a dead weight on the classes that after the passing of the County Franchise Act, will be politically preponderant. It is notorious that the success of the recent candidature of Mr. Samuel Smith for Liverpool was due in some measure to the enthusiasm which was evoked by his 'Christian Socialism,' by his declaration that the Liberal Party should throw itself into the work of passing measures of the character of social philanthropy. In regard to one of such proposals, that for a national compulsory insurance, a significant incident occurred in London recently, at a public meeting presided over by that veteran Liberal, Mr. Samuel Morley. After an address by the Rev. Mr. Blackley in favour of this scheme, a resolution of approval was put to the meeting. But it was opposed by an amendment to the effect 'That this meeting is of opinion that the true and natural means of preventing pauperism is by securing for the producing classes the fruits of their labour,' and after discussion this was carried by a large majority. The *Pall Mall Gazette* describes this proposal as a 'trashy resolution,' and says that public meetings of the kind invariably approve of the 'strongest meat,' and 'the most sweeping proposals.' But there is no getting over the political significance of the incident—the evidence it affords that a large and increasing section of the working class believes the abolition of pauperism to be a work that ought to be accomplished by the State, and should come neither from the benevolence of the rich nor from the self-denial of the poor. Socialism, or any other form of government repression, may not be making much progress in this country, because, as Mr. Amos seems to think, government, thanks to the

teachings of political economy, weighs so lightly on the national activities. But suppose the remarkable calculation of Prince Krapotkine, the apostle who may prove the martyr of Anarchism, that the labour of every workman in Europe amounts to £400 a-year, and that he yet receives of that sum only from £40 to £80 were proved true, suppose it were proved to be true even to the extent of a half, would not such 'trashy resolutions' as that passed at the London meeting be multiplied? Would not an organised working class electorate attempt to give effect to them in legislation?

Above all, there are a thousand signs that the Land Question is to be the question of the future in this country, and that question practically means—How is the new electorate to obtain control over, or, at least, much more material benefit than hitherto from, the land of the country? All parties, probably all influential politicians, are agreed that 'something must be done.' Mr. Gladstone declared himself during the Mid-lothian campaign in favour of the abolition of the Laws of Primogeniture and Entail, although not of the breaking up of the great landed estates. Mr. Bright has long been an advocate of Free Land. Mr. Chamberlain, writing not long ago to Mr. Wren, lately Liberal candidate for Wigan, described the complete revision of the existing system of Land Laws as especially a working man's question, although, not insignificantly, he did not prescribe his old 'remedy' of Free Land. Mr. W. H. Smith, the leading representative of the middle class in the last and possibly in a future Conservative Government, accepted the principle of a peasant proprietary in a resolution he brought forward last year to aid in the solution of the Irish problem. Lord Derby said recently—'I have no objection to a peasant proprietary, but the reverse. Its influence is favourable to stability and good order.' Mr. G. W. Russell, M.P. for Aylesbury, the rising hope of the 'plain Whig' party in the House of Commons, has advocated the experiment of a peasant proprietary on a limited scale in England itself.

Further, politicians and economists can no longer afford to ignore the scheme for settling the Land Question—and a number of other questions besides—by the abolition of private property

in land, and of all taxation but that on land values, unfolded by Mr. Henry George, an American writer, in his work on *Progress and Poverty*. Professor Fawcett has repudiated the economy it professes to teach. It has been denounced as 'agrarian socialism.' The two older *Quarterlies* last month agreed in attacking it, as they have not agreed since they united to deplore Household Suffrage. On the other hand, the book is selling like wildfire here and in America. It may be of slight importance that a Land Nationalisation League has been formed, but it is of no slight importance that the Trade Union Congress, which represents one organised section of the new Democracy, should last year by a vote of 71 to 31 have declared for the scheme. If it be thought of no moment that Mr. Michael Davitt, the leader of the Irish Left, should have adhered to it, the name of Mr. Herbert Spencer as its champion and, indeed, pioneer, will be accounted as of some weight. The other day, Mr. Arnold Toynbee, a teacher of political economy at Oxford, lectured in London on Mr. George's scheme. The working men, who attended in considerable numbers, were obviously in favour of Land Nationalisation, although Mr. Toynbee advocated, by way of an alternative scheme, these thorough-going proposals:—'the international co-operation of workmen, co-operative production, free trade in land, accompanied by sweeping and necessary political changes, such as the abolition of the House of Lords, the establishment of county boards, the abolition of the game laws, and the removal of all privileges which at present induce men to buy land for the political influence it brings them.'

It is not our present purpose, and probably the time has not yet come, to pronounce on Mr. George's scheme of Land Nationalisation either from the economic or from the political point of view. He has yet to be heard in answer to his critics. The Land Nationalisationists are by no means agreed as to their treatment of the present private proprietors of the land.* But there is no denying that Mr. George is a shrewd, ingenious, and eloquent writer, and

* Thus, compare the proposals of Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace, with those of Mr. George.

that his scheme has many fascinations for many minds, and even for many classes. He does not profess to assail political economy; on the contrary, he claims to expound a sound political economy, and to complete the work of the Free Traders. He denies that he is a Socialist; on the contrary, he claims to attain the Socialist ideal, but not through governmental repression. Unlike 'the small cultivation,' Land Nationalisation would not go in the teeth of science applied to the utilisation of land. Then, as for its blessings, it would, Mr. George says, 'raise wages, increase the earnings of capital, extirpate pauperism, abolish poverty, give remuneration to whoever wishes it, afford free scope to human powers, lessen crime, elevate morals and taste and intelligence, purify government, and carry civilisation to yet nobler heights.' Mr. George may not have convinced the world or Great Britain of the soundness of his doctrines; but he has rendered it certain that Land Nationalisation must be thrown with the Free Land and Peasant Proprietary schemes into the cauldron of the public discussion of that Land Question which seems destined to be to the next half century of British politics what the Free Trade question was to the last. This, the Highland difficulty and outbreaks, the farmers' agitation for 'compensation for improvements,' the remarkable agrarian schemes of the rival candidates in the late East Lothian Election, are themselves sufficient to prove in the case of 'law-abiding' Scotland.

What will be the upshot of the period on which the country may soon be expected to enter, it is impossible to say. There may be formed an anti-Land Law League as there was formed an anti-Corn Law League. A special 'social' party may be created which will extort the needed reforms not from a Liberal, but from a Conservative Minister. As the new Rules of Procedure begin to work successfully, Parliament may tend to become more and more a business committee for the nation, registering and giving effect to the Government by discussion which is being conducted outside. For a time, indeed, we may have not so much government by discussion as government by agitation. As we have already said, the new electorate will not have the machinery for discussion possessed by the old in the shape of great newspapers, for the good reason that it has not the capital to start them. In a

time of great excitement—such a time as may be expected if the Land Question is allowed to become a burning one—it will be able to make its will and its power known mainly by public meetings. Among the many things the Mid-lothian Campaign proved was that a great orator is more powerful than many newspapers. Under the new electoral and Parliamentary regime, platform orators may be expected therefore to count for far more in politics than they have ever done before; a new and a richer form of eloquence than the Parliamentary one may be called forth; the Member of Parliament may sink into a secondary position; there may be more Cobdens and fewer Gladstones. Not that we should be afraid of that old bogey of Democracies—the demagogue—until at all events we see him. ‘Sure I am,’ said Mr. Grant Duff some years ago, when lecturing in Edinburgh in answer to the warnings of ‘Cassandra,’ ‘that in Scotland at least every man who wants to succeed with a popular audience should make the best and most statesman-like speech he can.’ What Mr. Grant Duff thought was true of Scotland some years ago, can hardly fail, considering the rapid educational advance that is being made, to be true of the kingdom a few years hence.

The plain British citizen, ‘dipping into the future far as human eye can see,’ may have some misgivings. He is certain to have many anxieties, for the political problems that are ahead are many and complex. Yet there is no reason why he should give way to pessimism, much less seek the selfish shelter of cynicism, however refined. The more ‘the people’ have been trusted in the past, the more from a cluster of conflicting sections, classes, and interests, the nation has become one ‘people,’ and at the same time the more just and generous. So in the future, in dealing, as evidently it will deal with the Land Question, and the many difficult problems of which it is the centre, while it may over-ride ‘vested’ interests, it need not be feared that it will deal otherwise than fairly, certainly not cruelly, with living persons. With the advance of Democracy in power and knowledge, the influence of coteries, cliques, classes, and interests may be expected to decline. Party fidelity may remain, but it will be more and more informed and softened by that social sense which has been the true source of the popularity of our greatest men of

action in the past half century. As Democracy progresses, statesmanship will become a more difficult and many-sided art. Personal Power, in the old tyrannical sense, will surely decay; but in the new sense of moral suasion to righteous and noble ends, it will be more and more exercised. A British Napoleon, even a second Cromwell, will become an impossibility, a greater Washington more and more of a possibility. In short, reason may be expected in the next half century of our politics to exert her sway even more than in the last. The greatest citizen in a State that is at once thoroughly Democratic and thoroughly enlightened, will be simply its wisest man of affairs—he who does his best in the circumstances in which he finds himself, to solve the problems by which he is confronted, who always tries to follow the Kantian maxim of practical reason, always tries so to act that his action may pass for a measure of general legislation. The duty of a patriotic citizen in a State like ours which is partially Democratic and partially enlightened, but is progressing towards both complete Democracy and universal enlightenment, is to do his best unfalteringly, unceasingly, and equally for the attainment of both ideals.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Handbuch der Theologischen Wissenschaften. Herausgegeben
von DR. OTTO ZÖCHLER. Nordlingen, Erster Halband,
1882. Zweiter, 1883.

This 'Handbook' gives promise of being both valuable and interesting to the theological student, and to all, acquainted with German, who are interested in theological science. The first volume of it is now before us, and was issued in two parts, or half volumes, as they were ready for publication. The work is to consist of three volumes, and the other two are promised in the course of this year. The editor and those associated with him are all men of well known Conservative leanings, for what might be called, in the language so familiar to our ears, of strict evangelical principles. Those, however, who have contributed to this first volume have treated the subjects entrusted to them with great fairness and impartiality, and, no doubt, under Dr. Zöchler's editorship, those who are to follow will do the same. The method observed is this. The branch or department of theology a writer takes up, he first treats historically, giving a short summary of its fortunes in the past, and a brief notice and criticism of the various works that have been written on it, or which, in whole or in part, bear upon it. He then discusses the subject itself, in view specially of recent discoveries, or the results of modern research, giving the names and opinions of those who oppose or defend the traditional views, and stating his own opinion as to the effects of these on the point or subject in question. The historical summaries are, as a whole, very concise, yet complete; and, in stating the views of opposing critics, there is no effort to be unfair to them or to diminish their importance. If the writers here, as a whole, concede little (some of them, however, concede, as many will think, a great deal too much) to the critics of the so-called 'Historical School,' they always give reasons, plausible, if not convincing, for the views they hold themselves. Prof. Strack, of Berlin, treating of the Books of the Old Testament, frankly admits that the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is no longer tenable; that many of the Prophetical Works, the smaller as well as the larger, are of a composite character; that very few of the Psalms are Davidic; that the Proverbs are of various dates; that the Book of Daniel in its present form is from the times of the Maccabees, and much else of the same kind. On the other hand, Prof. L. Schultze, of Rostock, who has been entrusted with the New Testament Books, maintains and defends, with one exception, all the traditional opinions as to their origin and authorship. The exception is the Epistle to the Hebrews, which he attributes, with Luther and others, to Apollos. He regards the Gospels as written by those whose names they bear, and

under the circumstances alleged by early ecclesiastical tradition. He accounts for the fact that the first Gospel bears all the appearance of being an original work, and not a translation from a Hebrew or Aramaic text, by attributing the translation to Matthew himself, and allowing him to have made modifications on his earlier narrative. John, the Apostle, he holds to be the author of the fourth Gospel, of the three Epistles that bear his name, and of the Apocalypse. He has no misgivings whatever as to the genuineness and authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles, or of the two Epistles of Peter, and maintains that the Epistles of James and Jude are from the pens of the brothers of Jesus who bore these names. Both writers, however, treat these questions as to authorship and date of origin as purely literary questions—questions, therefore, which, whatever may be the answers given to them, do not in the least affect the value of the Bible as 'God's Word.' Dr. Strack is as positive here as Dr. Schultze, and both are careful to insist throughout on the maintenance of what they call evangelical truth, let criticism say its worst. It may give our readers a better idea, perhaps, of this work if we mention briefly the contents of this first volume. The Editor opens with a survey of theological science—of its contents and history. Dr. Strack, of Berlin, treats of the Books of the Old Testament, the formation of the Canon, and the history of the Text. Prof. Schultz, of Breslau, discusses the Archaeology and History of Israel as a people, the Geography of Palestine, and the Theology of the Old Testament writers. Dr. L. Schultze, of Rostock, takes up the Books of the New Testament as Dr. Strack has those of the Old, and also contributes a very interesting and elaborate paper on the Life of Jesus, and another on the Apostolic Period with its controversies. Prof. Grau, discusses the subject of the Theology of the New Testament writers, and Dr. Volck that of the New Testament Canon. The two volumes that are to follow promise to treat of Church History, Dogmatics, and Ethical and Practical Theology. Bringing together into short compass an immense mass of information bearing on the literature of the various branches of theology, this work can hardly fail to be welcomed by a large circle of readers; and, though it will not carry conviction everywhere, none will read it without profiting much by seeing both sides of the argument presented with so much fairness, and always in a scholarly, yet never in a dogmatic and intolerant, form.

The Parabolic Teaching of Christ: A Systematic and Critical Study of the Parables of our Lord. By A. B. BRUCE, D.D.
London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1882.

A handy systematic and critical treatise on the Parables of our Lord has long been a desideratum in theological literature. Archbishop Trench's admirable work on the subject is confessedly only a volume of 'Notes.'

The late Dr. Arnot's volume makes no pretension to being either systematic or critical. Greswell's 'Exposition,' though excellent in its way, is far too voluminous. Among the commentators, some of the best and most fruitful explanations are to be found in the commentary of the old Jesuit Maldonatus. In the volume before us Dr. Bruce attempts to fill up the vacancy. We cannot say that his work is in every respect satisfactory, yet we have no hesitation in saying that it is the best and most successful attempt which has yet been made to set forth succinctly and accurately the profound and beautiful significance of our Lord's parables. As a principal feature of his work, Dr. Bruce claims the classification he has adopted. In some, though not in all, respects this is the same as adopted in the article on *Parables* in *Smith's Dictionary*, and in Lange's *Bibelwerk*. First of all, we have the 'Theoretic or Didactic Parables,' including such as the parables of the 'Sower,' the 'Tares,' the 'Drag-net,' the 'Hid Treasure,' &c. Next we have 'the Parables of Grace,' or the 'Evangelic Parables,' such, for instance, as those of the 'Two Debtors,' the 'Children of the Bridechamber,' the 'Great Supper,' the 'Lost Sheep,' &c. Thirdly, we have the 'Prophetic or Judicial Parables,' including such as those of the 'Barren Fig Tree,' the 'Children in the Market-Place.' The parable of the 'Rich Fool' is omitted because 'it is of no independent didactic importance.' The arrangement adopted is not altogether satisfactory. As Dr. Bruce is careful to point out, some of the parables have an awkward tendency to overstep the limits of his classification, and to belong to more than one class. For our own part, we are doubtful whether any classification is needed. All the parables are 'Evangelic,' and parables of the Kingdom of Heaven. In his interpretation of their meaning, we need hardly say that Dr. Bruce is always scholarly and always fair in his treatment of the opinions of others. Generally speaking, he interprets the parables from the old traditional, or old ecclesiastical standpoint. There is little or no attempt at originality, or even of independence, on the fundamental principles underlying the interpretation of the parables. The Kingdom of Heaven is usually supposed to mean the Church, and there is consequently no attempt to show how the various parables illustrate its operations at the heart of society. In the parable of the 'Pearl of Great Price,' the old error is repeated of supposing our Lord to say 'the Kingdom of Heaven is like unto a Great Pearl;' whereas, his own words are, 'the Kingdom of Heaven is like unto a merchantman seeking goodly pearls.' On the other hand, on the lines along which he travels, Dr. Bruce is far from deficient in insight. One meets frequently on his pages with wise utterances and instances of fine spiritual discernment. For the preacher or the student, and even for the general reader, his work is a mine of information and a rich source of spiritual enlightenment. In a footnote to page 59, he pays a graceful tribute to the learning and ability of Dr. Robertson Smith.

The Reasonableness of Christianity. By WILLIAM M. METCALFE.
Paisley and London : Alexander Gardner, 1882.

This is, in several respects, an admirable book. It deals with very important subjects, and these of a kind which are of surpassing interest at the present moment. When we state that among its contents the following questions are embraced—'The Progressiveness of Theology,' 'Revelation,' 'The Bible,' 'Why has God made us?' 'Theories of Creation,' 'Religion and Science,'—enough has been said to show that the work is eminently one for the time now passing over us. And the volume is as thoughtful as it is seasonable. Its tone is truth-loving and reverent. The author looks facts fairly in the face, and has no doctrines which he seeks to defend by a want of candour or impartiality. Of the Bible, he truly says (p. 159) :—

'Many people go to it merely to confirm their own ideas. In Christendom there are, I suppose, some two or three hundred sects, all holding different and often contradictory opinions. That they cannot all be right is certain; yet they all refer to the Bible as their ultimate Court of Appeal. John Foster, the Essayist, remarks that some people are so constituted that they can see only along a single line, and that of the narrowest kind; and that so contracted is their vision that, though a legion of angels were on one side, and a legion of demons on the other, they would not see them. Something similar is the case with many when they read their Bibles. All that supports, or seems to support, their favourite theories, they see; all that does not, they cannot. One of the most patent instances of this is the old doctrine of reprobation. Those who framed this doctrine followed their Bible very closely, and saw how clearly it teaches that there is an election of grace; but the purpose for which this election was made, and is still made, together with the passages which tell against their theory of a certain number being foreordained to eternal death, and those which show that finally all Israel will be saved and death slain, they entirely overlooked. Instead of reading with an open and unprejudiced mind, they were eager to support a theory. In this way Scripture may be made to prove almost anything.'

There is a great deal of vigorous thinking and effective argument in the volume; and we have much pleasure in commending it as a fresh, forcible, and interesting work.

The Evidences of Natural Religion, and the Truths Established Thereby. By CHARLES MACARTHUR. London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1882.

This is a well-meant and, on the whole, successful attempt to show how much religious knowledge may be obtained from the study of natural phenomena, including under that head all facts, whether physical or mental, which are of ordinary occurrence. In his first chapter, which is decidedly the best, the author deals with the Being and Attributes of God, and shows with considerable skill that the phenomena of the universe afford sufficient grounds for believing in the existence of the Supreme Being, or, to use his own words, that the universe may be regarded as a mirror

wherein are reflected, with more or less clearness, the wisdom, power, love, and other attributes of the Creator. The second chapter, on the Government of God, is less successful. The argument which the author professedly follows is that of Butler, but it is doubtful whether he has really mastered Butler's ideas. In this chapter some of the statements require to be modified, and the whole subject to be reconsidered. Its chief fault is a singular confusion of the real with the apparent, and of the apparent with the real. On page 33 we are told that in the moral government of the world there are certain imperfections and irregularities which are matters of common observation. That the moral laws execute themselves like physical laws is denied. The uncertainty and irregularity which are said to characterise God's moral government are first spoken of as real, and then as only apparent. And again, the moral government of the world is said to be dependent for its execution chiefly upon human agency. The fact that every cause is followed by its effects in the moral as well as in the physical world is lost sight of. From the list of the schools or systems of morality, the doctrine of evolution is omitted. The chapters on the Immortality of the Soul are of great interest. Mr. Macarthur has brought to bear upon his task considerable reading; his style is clear and incisive; and he has the faculty of compressing into a small space a large amount of information and even of thought, and though his work is not without its faults, it is well worthy of being carefully read.

The Natural Truth of Christianity. Selections from the 'Select Discourses' of JOHN SMITH, M.A. With an Introduction by Matthew Arnold. Edited by W. M. Metcalfe. London: Alex. Gardner, 1882.

Among the innumerable *John Smiths* who have lived upon earth, no one better deserves to be had in lasting remembrance than the author of the 'Select Discourses.' Mr. Matthew Arnold has said of that work that it is 'by much the most considerable left to us by the Cambridge School.' Some years ago, Principal Tulloch attracted fresh attention to Smith, and others of the school referred to, by the publication of his valuable work entitled *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century*. But the Principal's volumes were too bulky and expensive to come into the hands of more than a limited number of readers; and it was a happy idea of Mr. Metcalfe to compile and issue those selections from Smith's writings, which are contained in the compact and handsome little volume now before us. An interesting Memoir is prefixed, in which Principal Tulloch's estimate of the 'Select Discourses' is quoted, part of which is as follows:—'Powerful and massive in argument, they are everywhere informed by a divine insight which transcends argument. Calmly and closely reasoned, they are at the same time inspired. The breath of a higher, diviner reason animates them all.' To this the present

editor justly adds:—‘The regret is that Smith’s writings have been, and still are, so little known. But for their heavy burden of Neo-Platonic and other quotations, I have often thought that they might have been, as from their intrinsic merits they deserve to be, among the most popular of our religious books.’ The varied and valuable contents of this volume are such as amply to justify this opinion. Open it where you will, something well worthy of being read and pondered is certain to be found. Take the following e. g. from p. 214, which is the first to catch our eye:—

‘While men “walk in darkness,” and “are of the night,” as the apostle speaks, then only is it that they are vexed with those ugly and ghastly monsters that terrify and torment them. But when once the day breaks, and true religion opens herself upon the soul, like the eyelids of the morning, then all those shadows and frightful apparitions flee away. As all light, and love, and joy, descend from above, from the Father of Lights; so all darkness, and fearfulness, and despair, are from below; they arise from corrupt and earthly minds, and are like those gross vapours arising from this earthly globe that, not being able to get up towards heaven, spread themselves about the circumference of that body, where they were first begotten, infesting it with darkness, and generating into thunder and lightning, clouds and tempests.’

The noblest views of God, and truth, and duty, are presented throughout the work.

The Theology of Consolation; or, An Account of Many Old Writings and Writers on that Subject. By Rev. D. C. A. AGNEW. Edinburgh: Ogle & Murray. London: Reeves & Turner, 1881.

This volume is a protest against the practice of many modern theologians of omitting, or postponing, the consideration of the doctrine of consolation, and of not regarding it as the primary and essential aspect of the Gospel. The fact that a book, bearing the title which this does, has been written or compiled by a member of the Evangelical School of Theology shows to what a lamentable extent the real character of the Gospel has been misunderstood. By its definition a Gospel is necessarily glad tidings of great joy; and anything which can claim to be a Gospel to men must, we should say, be distinctively and essentially consolatory. Whether Mr. Agnew has taken the best means to make it evident that this is the great and characteristic feature of the Gospel proclaimed in the New Testament may be doubtful. One thing, however, he has certainly done, he has given prominence to the subject, and called attention to it. In an introductory essay of considerable ability, he has shown that the primary and essential aim of the Gospel, whether as contained in the Old Testament or in the New, is to give hope, courage, and consolation to all who, conscious of the oppression of sin, yearn for deliverance into a purer, freer, and nobler life. Next, we have copious extracts from the writings of Luther, the Heidelberg Catechisms, the Marrow of Modern Divinity, from the writings of the

Marrow-men of Scotland, &c. And then we have, in the last of the three books into which the volume is divided, biographical notices of the writers from whose works the extracts are made. Amongst the class of writers whom he has consulted, Mr. Agnew has read 'widely. Many of them are obscure or have become entirely unknown, and his volume is a perfect mine of information about them. It is to be regretted, however, that the author has not read more widely still. The [great English divines are almost entirely ignored; as are also the German, French, Latin, and Greek. The Marrow-men were certainly not the only men who proclaimed the Gospel of consolation, nor was Luther the first to preach it. Tauler, Bernard, and most of the Fathers, preached it before him. Mr. Agnew's book, however, may be taken as an indication of the revival of a truer conception of the Gospel than has for some time prevailed among a certain class of preachers.

The Homiletical Library. Edited by the Rev. Canon H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A., and the Rev. JOS. S. EXELL, M.A. Vol. I., II. London: J. Nisbet & Co., 1882.

These volumes seem to belong to a series which is intended to furnish texts and materials for sermons for every Sunday in the year. The period here provided for begins with Advent and closes with Quinquagesima. The plan adopted is admirable. The 'Outlines' are arranged under three heads, according as the texts are taken from the Epistle, the Gospel, or the Lessons for the Day. For each Festival there is also a section headed 'Selected Texts,' in which the texts are taken from other parts of the Scriptures. All the Outlines are thoughtful, well arranged, copious in illustration, thoroughly evangelical in tone, and eminently practical. Specially deserving of notice are those given for the Close and Commencement of the Year and for the Epiphany. What the other volumes may be, we cannot of course tell, but so far as it has gone, [we do not hesitate to pronounce the 'Homiletical Library' the very best publication of its kind we have seen.

The Science of Ethics. By LESLIE STEPHEN. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1882.

Having sat at the feet of Bentham, the Mills, Herbert Spencer, and others, and not being exactly satisfied with their teaching, Mr. Leslie Stephen resolved to set down as systematically as he could a statement of the ethical theory which had commended itself most to his own mind. The result is the volume before us which may be regarded, we are told, as an attempt to lay down an ethical doctrine in harmony with the doctrine of evolution so widely accepted by modern men of science. Metaphysical questions, he tells us, he has carefully avoided. Starting with facts, and confining himself to matters of observation, his aim has been to deal with

ethics simply as a science. Whether it is possible to treat of ethics in this way may be doubted. Yet there can be no question that an attempt similar to the one before us, especially when made by so distinguished a thinker as its author, is of considerable interest and value. After a preliminary chapter in which the difficulties besetting the construction of a science of ethics are stated with great force and candour, Mr. Stephen enters upon a discussion of the theory of motives, and finds the determinants of conduct partly in feeling and partly in reason. In reference to the first, he remarks :—‘ We fly from pain : we seek pleasure : life is a continuous struggle to minimise suffering and to lay a firm grasp upon happiness ; “ good ” means everything which favours happiness, and “ bad ” everything that is conducive to misery ; nor can any other intelligible meaning be assigned to the words.’ To those who, while admitting that pain deters and pleasure attracts, deny that pain and pleasure are the sole deterrent or attractive qualities, he replies :—‘ What then is the nature of this different motive ? It must, by the argument, be something which admits of a comparison with pain and pleasure, which has its equivalent in terms of feeling, and which represents, therefore, a force of the same order. Is not this virtually to admit that it is still a pleasure or a pain ? The dread of shame or remorse overcomes the martyr’s dread of the fire. Is not that because shame and remorse are themselves painful, and in some men more exquisitely painful than physical torment ? The pain and pleasure may be higher in kind, but it is still a pleasure or a pain. The true statement is that one emotion may be overcome, not by a something which is altogether disparate from emotion, but by an emotion of a different kind, and this is, of course, indisputable.’ It may even be said, he remarks, that pain and pleasure are the sole and ultimate causes of action. By being determined by reason, Mr. Stephen means being determined by perceptions and inferences. In this sense, he remarks conduct is generally called reasonable in several connected but not identical senses. The supposed conflict between reason and passion, if it is taken to imply that reason is a faculty separate from the emotions, and contemplating them as an external spectator, is held to be meaningless, reason and feeling being regarded as bound together in an inseparable unity, and every act of choice as a struggle between passions involving more or less reasoning, but not as resolvable into a process entirely emotionless. For the principles of ethics or for the law of morality, Mr. Stephen turns, of course, to the social structure and finds it embedded and operative there. As for the essence of any moral law, it is in the mutual pressure of the different parts of the social structure by whatever means it is carried out, or to whatever process it owes its vitality. The moral law, therefore, defines a property of the social tissue, and must in consequence be natural, not artificial ; it must grow and not be made. It must also be eternal, so far at least as anything human can be eternal. An approximate expression of the conditions of

social vitality, it must at least be as permanent as the conditions themselves, and the only variations it can undergo are those of development. If now we ask what are the commandments of this law, we are told that it has but one. Be strong—a commandment, however, which may also be rendered, Be prudent; Be virtuous. The cardinal virtues are described as courage, temperance, truth; and the chief social virtues as benevolence and justice. Sympathy is shown to be the condition of altruism, and a systematic disregard of the sympathetic virtues is regarded as an indication of idiocy. As might be expected, Mr. Stephen finds no room in his system for a free will. At the same time, however, he maintains that determinism is not only consistent with a belief in merit and in moral responsibility, but that it is implied at every step by that belief. As to the connection between virtue and happiness, the conclusion to which he comes is that the doctrine that they ought to coincide is not true. We have already overstepped our limits and have little or no space for criticism. To deal adequately with all the objections or controversies Mr. Stephen suggests would require a volume as bulky as his own. We have no hesitation in saying, however, that, considered from the standpoint of the doctrine of evolution, Mr. Stephen's volume is the best of its kind which has yet been written. On the other hand, as a treatise on ethics, it seems to us defective. Especially is this the case in his treatment of motives, conscience, sympathy, free will. A great part of what may be called the higher experience of men seems to us to be unaccounted for. Notwithstanding Mr. Stephen's disclaimer of dealing with metaphysics, he seems to us to have written one of the most metaphysical books we have read. He rarely moves a step without touching some one or other of the great metaphysical questions, and is continually face to face with the greatest of them all. The power which is embedded in the social structure, and from which the principles of ethics are derived—What is this? While in the social organism, or in nature, informing and impressing upon it its laws, it is beyond and above it. In a word, the reading of Mr. Stephen's volume has only confirmed us in the opinion that to deal thoroughly with the doctrine of ethics, or to touch it without dealing with questions of metaphysics is impossible. Still, much as we differ from him, we cordially agree with Mr. Stephen in believing that the Moral Law is natural and not artificial, not an arbitrary decree, but deep rooted in the essential nature of things. His book may be read with profit even by those who differ greatly from him, and none can take it up for serious study without feeling that Mr. Stephen is not only the master of an admirable style, but an original thinker of considerable power.

Shaftesbury and Hutcheson. By Professor THOMAS FOWLER.
(‘English Philosophers’). London: Sampson Low &
Co., 1882.

Looking to recent Histories of Philosophy, it may fairly be questioned whether the debt that Ethics owes to Shaftesbury has been at all adequately acknowledged. The overshadowing fame is that of Hutcheson: and yet the lines on which Hutcheson worked were precisely those laid down for him by his predecessor. In the *Characteristics* are to be found all the leading features of the Benevolent Theory: they only want system, logical precision, a more thorough sifting, and a fuller development; and this was exactly what the Glasgow Professor supplied.

It is no real disproportion, then, when our author devotes 167 pages of the little volume now before us to Shaftesbury, while only seventy-two are allowed to his better known successor. Nor can any one with justice complain of Professor Fowler’s general exposition of the Benevolent Philosophy. It is clearness itself, and succeeds in leaving a very vivid impression on the mind of the reader. The only thing we are at all in doubt about is the propriety of separating the question of the process immediately preceding action (p. 79) from that of Free Will (p. 89), and regarding it as possible to deal with the one without at the same time answering the other. The two, it appears to us, are mutually implicated; and when once a man has fairly committed himself on the first, there is little difficulty in divining his opinion on the second.

A notable feature in the work are the criticisms; which materially aid the exposition. They are always temperate and concise, and, in the main, just. If we were to take exception, it would be to the strictures on the analogy between Morality and Art (pp. 74, 75). The fact is not sufficiently recognised that acceptance of the analogy is almost a necessary consequence of placing Virtue in Benevolence: for unquestionably it is in the efforts to achieve the benevolent affections that the ‘beauty of holiness’ is most conspicuous, and, as it is here that we have pre-eminently the clash of selfishness with unselfishness, it is here also that moral heroism emerges, and moral heroism affects us with a feeling of the sublime.

Two chapters are occupied with tracing the influence of Shaftesbury and Hutcheson on their own and subsequent generations; and, brief though they be, they show with remarkable distinctness the three lines of attack to which the Benevolent Theory is exposed—from the side of the Selfish Moralist (such as Mandeville), from the side of the Theological Utilitarian (e. g. Berkeley), and from the side of the Rational Moralist (as Balguy). But, excellent as they are, they leave something to be desired. To begin with Butler. Very properly, Professor Fowler emphasises the eudæmonistic tone of the *Sermons* as compared with the high ethical teaching of the *Dissertation on the Nature of Virtue*. There is no doubt that the *Sermons* and the *Dissertation* are not on all fours on this funda-

mental point, and that the inconsistencies of the former are both numerous and surprising. Indeed, he might have put the matter even more strongly than he has done; for, a more pronounced utilitarianism than that of Sermon XII need hardly be wished. But sufficient prominence has not, we think, been given to the fact that the *Sermons* were written under the influence of, and in sympathy with, Shaftesbury (even the criticism of the 'Preface' is sympathetic), while the more markedly hostile attitude of the *Dissertation* is due to Hutcheson. In like manner, we scarcely think it correct to say (p. 234), that Reid and Stewart 'can hardly be said to have been influenced by' Hutcheson. They were influenced by Hutcheson just as Butler himself was,—viz., in the way of opposition. Again, when it is said (p. 218) that 'there is a very close affinity between the "Conscience" of Butler and the "Moral Sense" of Shaftesbury and Hutcheson,'—that is not an adequate admission. It should be distinctly pointed out that, while Butler applies to conscience such terms as 'rational,' 'reflection,' 'moral faculty,' and the like, his nomenclature is quite as frequently of an emotional character. He calls it 'inward feeling,' 'moral sense,' &c., and in one place he classes 'rationality' under 'the whole system of affections which constitute the heart.' Once more, as to Price. The few words that describe his system (pp. 222-3) are in the highest degree felicitous; but if we ask the question, What then in Price's view is the exact place and character of Benevolence? we hardly think that sufficiency has been given to suggest the correct answer:—'Rational benevolence entirely coincides with rectitude, and the actions proceeding from it, with the actions proceeding from a regard to rectitude.'

It ought to be added that the other works of Shaftesbury and of Hutcheson, besides their ethical productions, are here passed in review; and that a distinct value attaches to the biographical chapters,—'the Life of Shaftesbury,' which appears in this work, being (as the Preface declares) the most detailed which has yet been published.

Essays in Philosophical Criticism. Edited by ANDREW SETH & R. B. HALDANE, with a Preface by EDWARD CAIRD.
London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1883.

In the preface to these nine essays, Professor Edward Caird pays a graceful tribute to the ability of the late Professor Green of Oxford, to whose memory the essays are dedicated. They were written by their ten authors, it would seem, independently, but with an agreement as to the lines they were to follow, and may, probably, be regarded as a sort of manifesto of what may be called a new school of British Philosophy, which derives its inspiration from Kant through Hegel. Mr. A. Seth, one of the accomplished editors, opens the volume with a paper on 'Philosophy as Criticism of Categories,' in which he subjects Kant's theory of knowledge to a searching examination, and shows that it is simply a criticism of knowledge. On the largest scale, the advance of knowledge, he maintains,

is neither more nor less than a progressive criticism of its own conceptions, and the main business of philosophy, as theory of knowledge, is to arbitrate between the various conflicting sciences, by pointing out the relations which their different standpoints bear to each other, and by allowing to each science a sphere of relative justification. In the next paper the relation of Philosophy to Science is more fully dealt with, and the complaint made that the man of science is perpetually raising difficulties insoluble for himself in his own department, by the dogmatic application of mistaken categories. 'It would seem,' the authors say, 'that the work of philosophy in the near future must pass into the hands of specialists in science who are at the same time masters of philosophical criticism (p. 66.) While decidedly able, these two essays are disfigured by the too frequent use of the Kantian and Hegelian terminology. Their authors might follow with advantage the example of Mr. Bosanquet, who in his essay on 'Logic as the Science of Knowledge,' while dealing with a subject quite as abstruse as theirs, has written an admirable paper in thoroughly sound and forcible English. Among the most readable papers in the volume are 'The Rationality of History,' by Mr. Ritchie, 'The Philosophy of Art,' by Mr. Ker, and especially the one on 'The Social Organism,' a really trenchant piece of criticism on Mr. H. Spencer's social theories, by Mr. H. Jones. The book, however, is one that deserves more space than in a short notice can be given to it. It is distinguished in every part by largeness of grasp and clear philosophical insight. The authors are thoroughly masters of their subjects, and though acknowledging Kant and Hegel as their teachers, each writes with an independence that betokens the possession of a thoroughly philosophical spirit. We welcome their volume as a cheering sign that Philosophy is not yet dead (among us, but will by-and-bye, the doctrine of evolution notwithstanding, come to the front and obtain a hearing.

On Mr. Spencer's Unification of Knowledge. By MALCOLM GUTHRIE. London: Trübner & Co., 1882.

In this volume Mr. Guthrie continues his controversy with Mr. Spencer. Having in a previous volume dealt with the latter's formula of evolution, he now takes what Mr. Spencer considers to be the ultimate aim of philosophy, and subjects it to a careful, elaborate, and many-sided examination. A believer in the doctrine of evolution himself, Mr. Guthrie is extremely anxious that his own position and attitude towards it should not be misunderstood. As regards the scientific doctrine of evolution or natural development, so far as it is known, he is not opposed to the author he criticises. He sees great blanks, however, in the deductive treatment and great failures of explanation which cause him to regard Mr. Spencer's presumed fulness of exposition as merely illusory. While in sympathy with the goal of Mr. Spencer's attempt, and fully excepting the same *a posteriori* truths, he is nevertheless compelled to criticise Mr.

Spencer's system adversely, and to charge it 'with the faultiness of reasoning and general bad workmanship entailed by the supposed accomplishment of the endeavour.' His present undertaking, therefore, he wishes to be regarded not as an attack upon the evolutionism of Lamarck, nor as an attack upon the evolutionism of Lyell or Darwin, nor yet upon the evolutionism of Spencer as regards the development of intelligence, but as an attack upon the theory which attempts to combine all these into one continuous process. Moreover, and we are using Mr. Guthrie's own language, the criticisms which the volume contains, is not made upon the ground that such a theory, in the nature of things cannot be established, but that as yet it is not established, and that in the endeavour towards its accomplishment, Mr. Spencer fails. It may even be asserted, he maintains, that there is not anywhere discernible the probable or possible grounds of such a universal connection of sequences. He agrees with Mr. Spencer in maintaining that any merely materialistic or mechanical interpretation of the universe is thoroughly inadequate to account for what we find in it; but differs from him when he supposes either that the theory of the 'double aspect' is intelligible or capable of completing a logical explanation, or that mysticism completes explanations partly effected by intelligible methods. He is not in accord with him, also, in his estimate of what can be accomplished by means of the concrete factors he actually employs, and more particularly in the deductions of biology. The passages to which attention is more especially directed occur on pages 131-4, and again on pages 541-2 of the *First Principles*, where Philosophy is defined as 'knowledge of the highest degree of generality,' and Science as that which concerns itself with the co-existences and sequences of phenomena; grouping these at first into generalizations of a simple or low order, and rising gradually to higher and more extended generalizations. These and other passages Mr. Guthrie carefully criticises. His complaint is that Mr. Spencer seems to forget that unificatory means oneness, and that he nowhere sets down his proposed unifications in the distinct form of a proposition. In his own opinion this proposition ought to have for its subject 'all existences and their interrelations,' for its copula the word 'are,' and for its predicate the ultimate truth. This ultimate truth, Mr. Spencer, he maintains, has not discovered, and in the present state of knowledge, he believes that its discovery is impossible. Such a philosophy as Mr. Spencer describes or rather develops ought not he thinks to be called anything else than Unitative Science. Philosophy he pronounces the intoxication of Science rather than Science itself; 'it sees visions, dreams dreams, grows poetic, prophetic, religious, and, by exciting the moral and spiritual emotions of our nature, causes us to lose the calm, clear, and cold apprehension of knowable things which is the characteristic of Science.' There can be no doubt that Mr. Guthrie points out some very serious defects in Mr. Spencer's system. His position in regard to the 'double aspect' theory deserves attention. Others, like him, have been sur-

prised to find the 'unknowable' continually meeting them in the chapters on the knowable. But it may be doubted whether in some instances the difference between the critic and his author is not a mere question of terms. We can only add that the controversy is carried on by Mr. Guthrie with the greatest fairness and the utmost good temper. His ability as a debater and controversialist is beyond question; and the thorough sifting to which he subjects Mr. Spencer's theories and statements, will help greatly to a clearer apprehension of what the doctrine of evolution implies.

The Life-Education and Wider Culture of the Christian Ministry, its Sources, Methods, and Aims. Being Lectures delivered at the Universities of Aberdeen, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and St. Andrews. By J. STEWART WILSON, M.A. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1882.

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was well advised when it appointed Mr. Wilson one of its lecturers on Pastoral Theology. In the lectures he has now published, he has given the divinity students at the four Scotch Universities some exceedingly sound and valuable advice, and said not a few plain things which have long been needed to be said. Justly or unjustly the complaint has often been made that the Scottish clergy are, as a rule, lacking in culture. Whether there are any just grounds for the complaints we have the very gravest doubts. Still, the advice given in the volume before us is timely as well as salutary. It is all the more timely, inasmuch as, however wise in other respects, the effect of recent legislation, though calculated to foster what is called a popular ministry, is not to foster one which is learned. Its tendency is to make young men believe that the chief end of their preparatory studies at the University is to qualify them for a successful candidature, or to put them in possession of a good living or parish. Mr. Wilson seems to have felt this, and his lectures may be taken, if not as an official, certainly as a vigorous and eloquent protest against the notion that a minister's studies are ended when he leaves the University and settles down in a manse. As he distinctly points out, the training obtained at the University is only preparatory. The real business of study begins afterwards. At the University the student is acquiring possession of the keys of knowledge, and learning how to use them, in order to unlock and obtain free access to its treasures when ordained to his charge, where he is placed that he may bring forth from them things new and old, and be a centre not of piety only, but also of learning and culture. The advice which Mr. Wilson gives on this head bears witness of that rich wisdom which comes from wide reading and large experience, and could not fail to give to his hearers fresh impulses and a nobler ideal of their calling. Were it generally followed, its good effects, we imagine, would soon be seen. There

is just one fault we have to find. The lectures, as we have said, are replete with sound and valuable counsel, and every page bears witness to the culture and enlightened spirit of the author, but they are just a little too rhetorical. While reading them, we have often wished that Mr. Wilson had restrained his enthusiasm, pruned down his rhetorical figures, and given in their stead a few plain directions and suggestions as to what books should be read. Take, for instance, the lectures on the 'Profane and Sacred Past.' In their way they are admirable. But so far as we can remember, and, in fact, so far as we can find out after re-examination, no instructions are given as to how or where the student is to make himself acquainted with them. He is told, indeed, to read the lives of great men, and to study the literature of the Past, but general exhortations such as these are of little use. What an audience similar to those addressed by Mr. Wilson requires is some definite instruction as to where they will find the best lives to read, and what authors will be their best guides.

The Land and the Book: or, Biblical Illustrations from the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and Scenery, of the Holy Land. CENTRAL PALESTINE AND PHOENICIA. By W. M. THOMSON, D.D., forty-five years a Missionary in Syria and Palestine. 130 Illustrations and Maps. London: T. Nelson & Sons, 1883.

This is in every respect a handsome and charming volume, and with its companion forms a not unworthy result of forty years' loving and assiduous labour. It is much too late in the day to praise Dr. Thomson's work. It is too well known and appreciated to need the slightest commendation. The volume before us begins with the site of the Ascension of our Lord, and deals with Central Palestine and Phoenicia. Dr. Thomson has laid all available sources under contribution, confirming or correcting his own impressions and observations by reference to the most recent authorities, and particularly to the published records of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and has thus brought his work down to the latest date. The maps and illustrations of which there are one hundred and thirty—the latter taken from photographs, and many of them full page—are singularly well done. A more handsome table-book, or a more delightful and instructive companion to the Bible, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to find.

The Imperial Dictionary of the English Language: A complete Encyclopædic Lexicon, Literary, Scientific, and Technological. By JOHN OGILVIE, LL.D. New edition revised and augmented by Charles Annandale, M.A. Illustrated. 4 vols. London: Blackie & Son, 1882-3.

The merits of Dr. Ogilvie's edition of the Imperial Dictionary of the

English Language have been long known and appreciated. Originally taken in hand in 1847, its publication was completed in 1850, and it has since continued to hold the place which it at once took as one of the best modern books of reference. Few things speak more eloquently or afford a better proof of the intense intellectual activity of the present century, and of the process of growth, change, and expansion through which the English language has passed during the period referred to, than one or two statements made with respect to this Dictionary in the preface to the fourth volume of the edition before us. Four years after the publication of the first edition, it was found requisite to issue a Supplement, and ten years ago, or within twenty-five years from the publication of the original edition, the work was considered by its publishers to be in need of a thorough revision. These facts speak for themselves, and to the future historian of philology, or of commercial, literary, or intellectual progress will be of considerable value. With a wise discretion the publishers entrusted the task of preparing a new edition to the thoroughly competent hands of Mr. Charles Annandale, and no expenditure of time or labour seems to have been spared in order to bring the work to a successful issue. A comparison of the original edition with the four bulky volumes before us will show at once how immensely it has been improved, and how admirably Mr. Annandale has executed an exceedingly laborious and difficult task. To begin with the etymological department—itself a test of excellence—this has been entirely remodelled and rewritten, and though not such as to meet the requirements of a student of philology, for the wants of others it is amply sufficient; and being thoroughly abreast of the most recent discoveries of the science of language, may be regarded as thoroughly reliable. The pronunciation is indicated by a very simple and intelligible method. As for the vocabulary itself, restricting our remarks for the present to the purely literary portion, this is far more copious than we expected. Not only are the words ordinarily occurring in the Standard English authors, from Chaucer and the sixteenth century to the present time registered, defined, explained, and illustrated with passages remarkably well chosen; obsolete and obsolescent words, Americanisms, such Scotch words as occur in the works of Burns and Sir Walter Scott, and even provincialisms, colloquial idioms, slang phrases, and the most frequent expressions borrowed from foreign languages, are also treated in a similar way. Equal attention has been paid to the Encyclopædic department. Here the improvement is, if anything, more remarkable still. Notwithstanding the enormous increase of terms, very few indeed, and none of any frequency of occurrence, have been omitted. The reader may turn to the pages of the Dictionary for almost any technical term he may choose, and he is sure to meet with not merely a bare definition, but with an explanation amply sufficient for his immediate needs. The articles in this department which we have been at the pains to consult—and some of them are of considerable length—have

struck us as admirable, both for the amount of information they contain, and for the clear and precise terms in which it is conveyed. A special feature of this department is the use of illustrations. These—and there are some three thousand of them—are well done, and as every one knows who has had occasion to refer to books on any science or art with which he is imperfectly acquainted, they are of great assistance. One feature we would not willingly omit to mention. The editor has accomplished a feat which we scarcely expected to see achieved. He has succeeded in making the pages of the 'Imperial' interesting. As we turned over his pages, scraps of information and long articles were continually turning up and tempting us to extend our examination, and to forget our business as critics. For all practical purposes, both as a Dictionary and as an Encyclopædia, we believe that the 'Imperial' will now be found quite sufficient. It is not too much to say that in its present form it is decidedly the best Encyclopædic Dictionary of its size in the English language, and that all concerned in its compilation and production deserve the very highest praise.

Health Lectures for the People. First and Second Series.
Edinburgh: Macniven and Wallace, 1882.

The sagacity and genuinely practical wisdom by which much of the higher philanthropy of the present is inspired cannot be too highly praised. The old plan was to let suffering come, and even, in an indirect way, to invite it, and then when it had come and was doing its worst, to resolutely fight it; the present is to disseminate those facts and principles by a wise use of which both the rich and poor may ward off disease, and secure to themselves, as far as may be, a sound mind in a sound body. Of this plan the present lectures are an outcome. They deal with such subjects as—'The Care of the Body,' 'Food and Drink,' 'The use of Stimulants and Tobacco,' 'Accidents, Emergencies, Wounds and Operations,' 'The Skin and its Management in Health,' 'A Cold,' 'How to Digest Food.' The title of one lecture is 'Hints to Women regarding their Health, Habits and Occupations;' of another it is 'The Rearing and Training of the Infant and Child.' We are not at all surprised to hear that they were listened to by large and attentive audiences. It is impossible to read them without obtaining a very considerable amount of extremely interesting and valuable information. All are written in a clear, simple and popular style, and bring the best principles of science down to the level of the most ordinary understanding. If widely circulated and intelligently followed, they would be the means of saving a vast amount of hard won earnings and of preventing no end of suffering and disease.

Storia Universale della Letteratura. Di ANGELO DE GUBERNATIS. Vols. I. and II. Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1882.

These two volumes of this compendious work deal with the history of the

Drama. The whole work will be divided into three series, each composed of six volumes. The first series treats of the Drama, Lyric, and Epic Poetry; the second will deal with Legends, Popular Tales, Romances, and History; and the third of Epigrammatic, Sententious and Satiric Poetry, Philosophic Doctrine and Oratory. Two volumes are to be devoted to each subject, the second volumes of each containing examples and quotations translated from the most illustrious authors. The work, as being primarily intended for the instruction of the young, is dedicated to Victor Emmanuel, Prince of Naples.

In his preface, the author remarks that he who would go back to the origin of the drama would have to begin by describing the ancient religious rites, for religious drama always preceded profane drama, and the first actors were priests and devotees. The drama, once consecrated to religion, became, in spite of frequent periods of degradation, the great educator of the society in which it was developed, and ought to continue to be such; tragedy arousing our nobler sentiments, and comedy, by ridicule, correcting our vices. Where a people is wanting in all sense of what is good and honest, it is in vain to expect the development of true dramatic art, and the history of the drama shows that it has never been a mere display of art, but always the mirror of the national civilization.

Signor de Gubernatis begins his work with the Oriental drama. Taking the Indian drama first, he is of opinion that the doctrine of Buddha had more influence on its development than Hellenism, because the former brought with it a great sense of the reality of life, and released it from fixed forms. Horace Wilson is quoted largely, and about a fourth part of the first of these two volumes is devoted to this interesting subject, which is carefully brought down to the present day, when, the author concludes, the Hindoo drama has lost all originality and subsists entirely on paraphrases and translations. Very recently the 'Merchant of Venice' has been translated into Bengali, and 'Midsummer Night's Dream' into Hindoostani, while the *Sakuntalâ* of Kalidasa (whom de Gubernatis calls the precursor and ideal brother of Shakespeare), has been translated into both those languages. It is a singular fact, says de Gubernatis, speaking of the drama in Persia, that, in a country where religion was founded on the antagonism between the principle of good and the principle of evil, between Ahriman and Ahuramazda, the drama was not spontaneously developed, but only made its appearance after the introduction of Islamism. It is probable, however, that the use of the drama in Persia is attributable to still older and Judæo-Christian mysteries, and that some of the old Iranic profane farces have not reached us. The short description of the Persian theatre which follows is derived from a monograph by Alexander Chodoko, who made the drama in Persia his special study. About the Semitic drama there is not much to say, for until the 17th century, although the books of Job, Ruth, and others, fall little short of being true dramas, there is no sign of a dramatic Jewish literature. The

oldest drama written in Hebrew was a piece entitled 'Yessod Olam,' by Mose Sacut, composed in Amsterdam in the 17th century. Many dramas were written by Jews at an earlier period in the Spanish language; others were written a few years ago in a Hebrew-German jargon in Russia; but no true Hebrew drama exists; the dramatic form having been chosen for the sake of producing a rhetorical rather than a scenic effect, so that the influence of this form of literature on Jewish society was almost, if not quite, nil. It would occupy too large a space to enter into the details of Signor de Gubernatis's account of the Chinese drama, but we may quote a few facts. Dramatic literature appeared in China not earlier than the second half of the 6th century, when the country had already entered into intimate relations with the West. It is an interesting fact that the Chinese theatre had its 'old father,' its 'first lover,' its 'soubrette,' its 'widow,' etc., etc., and many other distinctions which prove that, perhaps more than any other theatre, it had its fixed types. The Chinese dramas reveal the life of the people in its reality, and were intended to have a highly moral effect. The most singular Chinese comedy that has reached us is 'Ciao-mei-Hiang,' which has a resemblance to the Indian dramas of Kalidasa, but is far inferior to those graceful pieces. Still, the Chinese theatre is so realistic and varied in subject, that one may say all the life of the people has passed into its scenic representations. The Japanese drama, which seems to have been in some respects an imitation of the Chinese, can only be traced back to the 9th century. The first regular theatre was opened at Yeddo in 1644.

The *second part* of the first volume is devoted to the ancient classic dramatic literature, and the *third* to the Sacred Christian drama, founded on the ancient Christian rites. Very interesting is the account of the sacred drama in Florence under the Medicis, and the conjecture of the author that if a genius like that of Dante had been educated amid the enthusiasm for those sacred mysteries, and had not disdained to adopt the vulgar tongue and to make it express the loftiest poetry, dramas like those of Shakespeare would perhaps have appeared in Italy a century earlier than they did in England.

The *fourth part* contains the 'Modern Drama,' and, embracing many countries, has naturally very little space devoted to each. As in ancient Rome, says de Gubernatis, so in modern Italy, tragedy never became popular, but was only a literary composition, an imitation of the Greek and Roman drama. Melodrama sometimes flowered into real and original tragedy. A true innovator, Giralaldi, appeared in Italy in the 16th century, and the Furies in one of his dramas, 'l'Orbecche,' recited at Ferrara in 1541, perhaps inspired Shakespeare's witches in 'Macbeth.' It is a singular fact that Giralaldi placed the scene of his 'Arrenopia' in Scotland or Ireland, just as Shakespeare sought his subjects in Italian tales. From a story such as is the foundation of the 'Arrenopia,' Shakespeare would have composed a comedy in the style of 'All's well that ends well,' and

Giraldi's work only needed the spark of genius to equal a Shakespearian drama, but that spark was wanting. In Giraldi's tragedy was born the romantic drama of Italy. The modern drama of that country, in all its forms, is subjected by de Gubernatis to a careful criticism, and though it was impossible to mention all the Italian dramatic authors, not one has been forgotten, from Goldoni downwards, who has introduced any real novelty into modern Italian comedy. In the Spanish drama, he says, the mixture of the sacred and profane, seen in the sacred dramas of modern Italy and Greece, was more general and characteristic. Spain had its great dramas already at the end of the 15th century, not to speak of the vanished moral and allegorical comedies by Villena, which were represented at the nuptials of Ferdinand of Arragon in 1414. Juan de la Encina is considered by Ticknor to be the true founder of the lay drama in Spain, just as Lopez de Vega was the founder of the national drama. De Gubernatis brings his learned account down to the Spanish authors of the present century. After giving an account of the Portuguese drama, Prof. de Gubernatis proceeds to deal with the French, English, and German. Beginning with the *mysteries* and *miracles* of France, the miracle-plays of England, and the Passion-plays of Germany, the author gives a rapid *résumé* of the chief dramatic writers and their productions. Sacred plays found the greatest favour, he says, in England, one of the reasons of this popularity being, perhaps, the rude and even brutal manner in which they were represented; for example, in 1327 the 'Mystery of Adam and Eve' was performed at Chester, the principal personages appearing naked on the stage. In a very few pages de Gubernatis does justice to the 'vast and original character' of the genius of Shakespeare, to whom he constantly alludes in other parts of the book. Since the extinction of the luminous Pleiades of the great dramatic poets, most of whose works he mentions, a national English theatre, de Gubernatis thinks, can no more be spoken of; for a true dramatic genius has never since appeared. He, therefore, contents himself with mentioning a few of the contemporary writers for the English stage, ending with Mr. Byron, the author of 'Our Boys,' which had a great success as 'I nostri Bimbi' on the Italian stage. In the 'German Drama,' Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller receive the praise and mention of their works which is due to their genius; and the chief contemporary German dramatic writers are enumerated, whose works are a proof to de Gubernatis that the German drama has flourished even in our century, although 'the modern German genius, capable of great ideality, is apt, when it enters the region of the drama, to turn its *Lustspiel* into a *Posse*, and its comedy into buffoonery.' The Dutch drama is disposed of in less than three pages. The mention of the Scandinavian drama is brief but interesting. The first Danish drama, represented on the stage in the 16th century, was a piece entitled 'Tobia,' by Olaus Petri. In Russia, the old mysteries preserved the most religious solemnity, and did not degenerate into comedy as in other places. The popular Russian theatre,

therefore, was only founded during last century, when a merchant, Theodore Volcof, opened a theatre at Jaroslof, in which he and his brothers and friends were the performers. The volume ends with short chapters on the drama in Rutenia, Poland, Bulgaria, Servia, Bohemia, Roumania, and Hungary. In some of these countries the national drama is of but a few years growth, in others it is hardly commenced, while in others it reaches back to the 15th and 16th centuries. In concluding the first volume of his great work, Signor de Gubernatis expresses a wish that the Italian Government would do something to encourage the dramatic theatre in Italy, the liberty it enjoys at present being not the liberty to live, but only the liberty to die.

The second volume, 'The Dramatic Anthology,' is so voluminous that it is divided into two sections, in which Signor de Gubernatis has given his readers a sip out of the full cup of the world's dramatic literature. It is only a sip, and nowhere a full, satisfying draught, for that would be impossible within the space prescribed. The arrangement answers to that of the first volume, and we find specimens of the dramas of illustrious authors from Kalidasa down to the modern Sziglizi. Signor de Gubernatis acknowledges the extreme difficulty of selection, where, to do justice to the anthology of the Oriental, Classic, Christian, and Modern Drama, it would require a whole volume for each subject. Of our own language there are only a scene from Marlowe's 'Doctor Faustus,' one from 'Hamlet,' (which de Gubernatis says is a good intermediary between Marlowe's drama and Goethe's 'Faust'), a scene from the 'School for Scandal,' and, with a sudden dip to modern comedy, a scene from 'Our Boys.' A scene from Goethe's 'Faust,' that exquisite one where Gretchen questions Faust as to his belief, sounds as beautiful in Italian as in the original language.

A Short History of French Literature. By GEORGE SAINTSBURY.
Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1882.

This volume, though intended merely as a text-book, is a really valuable addition to English literature. Not only is Mr. Saintsbury thoroughly master of his subject and a sound critic; he writes with such singular force and felicity as to invest a subject already sufficiently interesting in itself with an additional charm. Were we to find any fault with his style, we should say that it is a little too condensed, more particularly in the opening chapters and in the passages in which he delivers his opinion respecting the authors with whom he deals. In a 'succinct history,' something of this, however, was to be expected: and, considering the prolixity to which we are accustomed, may almost be regarded as a merit. The arrangement adopted is admirable. In the first book, which is entitled 'Mediæval Literature,' as most of the works of the period are anonymous, instead of dealing with authors, the chapters are devoted to the different forms of literary composition. Hence, after a short but extremely interesting chap-

ter on 'The Origins,' we have chapters on the '*Chansons de Gestis*,' '*Provençal Literature*,' the 'Arthurian Legends,' the '*Fabliaux*,' '*Romans d'Aventures*,' '*Prose Chronicles*,' &c. As an example of condensed writing this Book is a masterpiece. Probably so much has never been told about French Mediæval Literature, and told so interestingly, in so few pages before. In the Second Book the plan is changed. Here, beginning with Villon, Mr. Saintsbury proceeds by authors, taking the more remarkable individually, and grouping their followers around them. In the Third and Fourth Books the plan of proceeding according to subjects is adopted. Between the several Books intercalary chapters are inserted, in order to indicate the connection of the different periods and the general lines of development. As we have already hinted, Mr. Saintsbury's criticisms probably suffer from over condensation. On the other hand, their value is enhanced by their independence, each being the result of a careful study of the author dealt with. As examples of extremely fair and judicious criticisms, reference may be made to the estimates of Villon, Montaigne, Joubert, Voltaire as a dramatist, Lesage, and S  nancour. Disputed literary questions are but rarely discussed. The plan adopted is the one which was almost inevitable, viz., to state what appears to the author as the most probable conclusion. Except in the First Book, no illustrative passages are given. It is to be hoped that a volume of such passages will soon be given, as without one the volume before us, admirable as it is, can scarcely be regarded as complete.

Landmarks of English Literature. By HENRY J. NICOLL.
London: J. Hogg. 1883.

Mr. Nicoll has undertaken this volume mainly in the interests of 'young readers and others whose time is limited.' His aim, therefore, is not to present them with a complete history of English Literature, but 'to deal solely with the very greatest names' in its various departments. To many whom he has chosen to claim as possessing the 'very greatest names' we are disposed to object, as having no just title to the honour. Some of them are, in our opinion, but second or third rate writers. All such classifications, however, are more or less matters of taste or opinion, and probably very few will agree as to who should or should not be included in Mr. Nicoll's list. What he has done, however, Mr. Nicoll has done well. He writes in a popular and easy manner, and by those for whom he has written his book will be found of great service. His Introduction is well conceived and appropriate. It contains, besides an excellent definition of literature, a considerable amount of sound advice, though we can agree neither with him nor with Dr. Bain as to the use and educational value of the old writers. In our opinion, they are much better fitted for educational purposes than many of the so-called modern classics. Much more may be learned from Hooker, Shakespeare, Bacon, and others of the old writers, than can be learned, either respecting the English language or

human nature, from many of the moderns, even though they may be classed among the 'very greatest names.' There is an element in them which cannot be 'worked up;' and it is better to put into the hands of the young books which have acquired a sure place rather than those which in a few generations or years may be not unjustly forgotten. To the historical part of Mr. Nicoll's work little or no exception can be taken. It is always clear, distinct, accurate. The writers dealt with most largely are the modern; and Mr. Nicoll has given variety and interest to his pages by dealing largely in personal and historical details, and by confirming his own opinions by the opinions of others. Altogether, we can heartily commend his book as a pleasant and trustworthy guide to works which, as he justly remarks, are among the most imperishable glories of Britain.

Diaries and Letters of Philip Henry, M.A., of Broad Oak, Flintshire, A.D. 1631-1696. Edited by MATTHEW HENRY LEE, M.A. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, & Co. 1882.

Philip Henry was certainly not one of the greatest figures of his time, but being a beautiful, devout, and active spirit, and being mixed up in some of the more important ecclesiastical and civil affairs of his age, his *Diaries and Letters* are of some value both as showing what he was himself, and as illustrating the civil and religious life of an important period in English history. The son of a Welshman in the King's service, he was born in the year 1631 in Whitehall, and was educated first at Westminster under Dr. Busby, and afterwards at Christ Church, Oxford. He witnessed the execution of Charles I., took his degree in 1651, and two years afterwards went down to Emral in Flintshire as tutor to the sons of Judge Puleston, and to preach at Worthenbury. When twenty-six, he was 'ordained Minister of ye Gospel with the laying on of Hands of the Presbytery, at Prees, in Shropshire. [A day,' he continues, 'never to bee forgotten.' Refusing to conform, he was frequently in trouble, and though Judge Jeffries showed him some favour, owing probably to their early acquaintance, he was several times apprehended and imprisoned, and once with the loss of his goods. In 1688 he was nominated a Justice of the Peace, and died in 1696. Widely known and honoured in his lifetime, his name has been greatly overshadowed by that of his son, the well-known commentator, Matthew Henry. Mr. Matthew Henry Lee has performed his task with great care and fidelity, and has brought to bear upon it besides a considerable amount of research, a wise and tender regard for the memory of one whose *Diaries and Letters* are well worth careful perusal.

The Merv Oasis: Travels and Adventures East of the Caspian during the Years 1879-80-81, including Five Months' Residence among the Tekkés of Merv. By EDMUND O'DONOVAN, Special Correspondent of the *Daily News*. 2 vols. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1883.

Mr. O'Donovan has acted wisely in adding to the narrative of his five months' residence in Merv an account of his wanderings and adventures among the Russian settlements along the Eastern Caspian littoral and in the Persian Empire. His volumes have gained in bulk, but they have also gained in interest. We may complain of their weight, but we cannot that they are dull. Not only is Mr. O'Donovan possessed of a pair of sharp eyes thoroughly trained to accurate observation, as becomes the Special Correspondent of the *Daily News*, he has written with such singular clearness, and with such vivid pictorial effect, that, though much of the ground over which he has travelled has been described before, every page bears the charm of novelty, and the reader's attention is sustained from the beginning to the end. Mr. O'Donovan's original intention was to penetrate from Trebizond into Central Thibet, but having learnt at Elizabethtopol that a Russian army was on its way, and was daily expected there, to act against the Turcomans, he resolved to follow its movements. For a time he was permitted, but his permission being withdrawn, and failing after frequent attempts to obtain its renewal, he resolved to penetrate at all risks into the Akhal Tekké country alone, and, if the Russians should be there before him, to push on to Merv. The Russians were there before him, and he was only just in time to witness the fall of Geok Tepé.

'Early on the 24th' (January, 1881), he says, 'we ascended the top of the Markov mountain, which towers some six thousand feet above the Tekké plain, and is not over twelve miles from Geok Tepé. With my double field-glass I could easily make out the lines of the Turcoman fortress, and the general position of its besiegers, but I was too far off to make notes of detail. I could plainly see, by the smoke of the guns and the movements of the combatants, that the attack had begun in earnest, and I watched its result with intense anxiety. The Russian assault was directed against the southerly wall of the fortifications, and, after what was apparently a desperate conflict there, it was evident that they had forced their way. A crowd of horsemen began to ride in confusion from the other side of the town, and spread in flight over the plain. Immediately afterwards, a mass of fugitives of every class showed that the town was being abandoned by its inhabitants. The Turcoman fortress had fallen, and all was over with the Akhal Tekkés.'

After a difficult and dangerous journey, and notwithstanding the opposition of the Persian Government, Mr. O'Donovan succeeded in reaching Merv. His entrance into the 'Queen of the World' was not the most encouraging. As he neared it in company with a party of Turcomans whom he had met on the plain,

'Some of my conductors,' he says, 'suddenly entertained doubts as to my nationality, and my motives for visiting them in their inner *penetralia*. "How could anyone know that I was not a Russian?" "What will our friends say when we bring him among them?" "Who knows but he has a brigade of Cossacks at his heels?" "What is his business here?" Such were the words I heard pass between them. The more considerate said, "Who knows but they will kill him at the first village?" For two long, weary hours we sat on horseback in the driving rain, our backs to the wind, awaiting the result of this field council. Some of the party looked daggers

at me, and seemed inclined to solve the matter by there and then finishing me off; but the better minded majority seemed to get their own way. One of the latter rode up to me and told me not to be afraid—that all would yet be right, he hoped. He added, significantly, that if all were *not* right, I should only have myself to blame for coming there.'

Mr. O'Donovan had considerable difficulty in persuading his captors or custodians that he was not a Russian. Subsequently, owing partly to the insane talk of his servant, and partly to the fears and hopes of the Mervli themselves, the idea prevailed that he had come as a representative of the British Government. As a consequence, he was associated with the chiefs of the Toktamish and Otamish tribes in the government of the Oasis, and did much to guide the affairs of the Mervli through a very critical period of their history. At length, after a residence of over five months in Merv, he was allowed to return to Meshed, the Mervli believing that he was about to take part in the deliberations of a great council of the Western Powers in order to fix the boundaries of the Russian conquests. To give anything like an adequate idea of the immense amount of valuable information, or of the stirring incidents in which Mr. O'Donovan's book abounds, is in a short notice impossible. There is not a single uninteresting sentence in the whole of these two bulky volumes. Mr. O'Donovan has performed a notable feat, and the book he has written is the most entertaining and instructive of its kind we have met with.

Eau de Nil: a Chronicle. By E. C. HOPE-EDWARDES. London: Richard Bentley & Son. 1882.

During the winter of 1881-82, Miss Edwardes accompanied her brother in a journey made to Egypt for the benefit of his health, and this book contains practically the Journal which she kept at the time for the amusement of her friends at home. The public are certainly to be congratulated upon Miss Edwardes' decision to allow them to participate in the pleasure of reading her little Chronicle. It is a very pleasant and entertaining record of the impressions and observations of a clever woman,—remarkably faithful, very happily expressed, and by no means always superficial. The first eighty-two pages are occupied with the time from December 2, when the party arrived at Alexandria, till December 26, when they started on a voyage up the Nile, which they continued till a short distance beyond Derr, whence they turned on February 22, reaching Cairo on April 9 (p. 286) and the remaining thirty-three pages bring us to the eve of their departure from Alexandria.

Miss Edwardes justly considers that her knowledge of the Arabic language gave her a great advantage over the ordinary run of European travellers, by enabling her to converse with the natives, an advantage of which she evidently availed herself with tact and profit. To a lady of her intelligence and capacity, the brave (and successful) attempt to learn a very valuable but very difficult language probably comes naturally, but it is none the less agreeable to her readers to deal with an authoress who was not,

like most Eastern tourists, helplessly dependent upon some interpreter for every impression for conveying which language is essential. We are happy to think that she met with more interesting specimens of the Egyptian people than Mr. Jakoub Solal, with whom we are not unacquainted, and of whom we venture to think her view somewhat rose-coloured. It is to be regretted that she did not see more of Copts, especially as she is free from the absurd prejudice against the native Christians which forms so repulsive a feature in the character of some tourists.

We hope that Miss Edwardes will forgive us for suggesting that her knowledge of Arabic might have made her spelling better. We can understand the phonetic reflection of Egyptian vulgarities, such as G for J (though, really, when we get Ghizeh for Jizah, the untravelled might be led into believing in an Ghain), but surely one might be more successful in indicating the power of the 'Solar' letter than is the case in such a concatenation as 'Kafr-es-Zyat' or 'Asyoot.' Will she also accept our suggestion that, when transliterating the Arabic Qof, she might save herself the trouble of choosing between G and K (p. 123) by using Q, which is really the same letter.

Miss Edwardes disclaims any pretence to archaeological science, and, indeed, the state of her brother's health would have prevented her following up such pursuits; but we cannot help offering her our congratulations upon the way in which she has applied her power of felicitous description to the antiquities. As Gibbon said of a more serious writer, her merits are her own and her errors those of her informants. These are rare, for she has too much sense to spend time and trouble on writing down second-hand matter, but we may remark, for instance, that (p. 45) she says that the Copts make use of the Christian Era; whereas they reckon by the Era of the Martyrs, (i.e., from the persecution under Diocletian) A.M.M., not A.D.; and never, we believe, use the Eras of the Birth of Christ or of the Hajira except for practical convenience when dealing with other Christians or with Mohammedans. *A propos*, Miss Edwardes mentions the common uncertainty as to the derivation of the word *Copt*: we know that the question is disputed, but we feel considerable confidence in supporting the theory mentioned by her that it is really the middle syllable of the Greek *Aiguptios*, from *Aiguptos*, which, we incline to think, is itself a coarse paronomasion of the ancient title *kahi-Ptah*, 'the land of Ptah.'

Aspects of Poetry: Being Lectures delivered at Oxford. By J. CAMPBELL SHAIRP, LL.D., Professor of Poetry, Oxford, &c. Clarendon Press. 1881.

Disquisitions on poetry are not always the most pleasant or even most profitable reading. As a rule, we prefer the poetry, and would willingly be saved the trouble of reading the disquisitions. To this rule, also, there are exceptions. When Matthew Arnold discourses on poetry, everyone is delighted to listen. Principal Shairp may be placed in the same category.

The lectures he has now published are full of a large hearted human sympathy, and are distinguished by so much genuine poetical insight, that they are worthy of a place beside those of the greatest of his predecessors in the Oxford Chair of Poetry. A poet himself, he here illustrates—and that perhaps unconsciously—the genuine spirit by which the true poet is inspired. Any definition of poetry he does not for wise and obvious reasons give. His aim is to exhibit rather the nature and offices of poetry, and this he does in a most admirable way. As for the poet himself, he claims that his first and distinctive characteristic is that he is a genuine human being, not an eccentric creature, nor even a mere artist living only for his art, but ‘a man among his fellowmen with a heart that beats in sympathy with theirs—a heart not different, only larger, more open, more sensitive, more intense.’ Sympathy, as he points out, is the secret of his insight. By this, too, his energies are kindled and inspired. His peculiar domain, it is pointed out, is Beauty. One large part of his vocation is to bear witness for it, whether it be found in the world of nature, or in the deeper, more changeful, more fascinating world of human life. All the domain, however, over which the poetic spirit ranges, one word is not sufficient to cover. There are other things which win the poet’s regard, and to which the term Beauty cannot be applied. Hence we have the remark, ‘I should rather say that the whole range of existence, or any part of it, when imaginatively apprehended, seized on the side of its human interest, may be transfigured into poetry. There is nothing that exists, except things ignoble and mean, in which the true poet may not find himself at home.’ The old dogma that the end of poetry is to give pleasure, Professor Shairp rejects, remarking that the great authorities by which this doctrine is supported seem to have mistaken that which is an inseparable accompaniment for that which is the main aim and proper end of poetry. Poetry, he contends, always gives pleasure, but its true aim is not this, but ‘to awaken men to the divine side of things, to bear witness to the beauty that clothes the outer world, the nobility that lies hid, often obscured, in human souls—to call forth sympathy for neglected truths, for noble but oppressed persons, for downtrodden causes—and to make men feel that through all outward beauty and all pure affection God Himself is addressing them.’ Consistently with this, the idea that poetry is indifferent to morality is rejected. Morality, as Principal Shairp justly maintains, is nothing less than the informing and inspiring spirit of all poetry worthy of the name. The two thoughts—the belief that this world is the vestibule of an eternal state of being, and the thought of Him in whom man lives here and will live hereafter—just as they are the cardinal assumptions of all natural religion, are hardly less, though unconsciously the ground tones, he holds, which underlie all the strains of the world’s highest poetry. Principal Shairp’s advice to young poets is timely and judicious; while the lectures on Virgil as a Religious Poet, Wordsworth, Scottish Song and Burns, and Modern Gallic Bards, are admirable samples of just and sympathetic criticism.

The Poetry and Humour of the Scottish Language. By CHARLES MACKAY, LL.D. Paisley and London : Alex. Gardner. 1882.

The view which the author takes of the relationship between modern English and Lowland Scotch is extremely sensible. He claims neither too much for the latter nor too little. Scotch, as he remarks, is for the most part Old English ; both are mainly derived from various branches of the Teutonic ; and, five hundred years ago, may be exactly described as having been Anglo-Teutonic and Scoto-Teutonic. The former has since been replaced by modern English, but the latter is still a living speech. In fact, to use Dr. Mackay's figure, though the children of one mother, the two have lived apart, received different educations, developed themselves under dissimilar circumstances, and received accretions from independent and comparatively insulated sources. The difference between them is very fairly put by the author when he says—'The English, as far as it remains an Anglo-Teutonic tongue, is derived from the Low Dutch, with a large intermixture of Latin and French. The Scotch is indebted more immediately to the Low Dutch or to the Flemish spoken in Belgium, both for its fundamental and most characteristic words, and for its inflexion and grammar. The English bristles with consonants. The Scotch is as spangled with vowels as a meadow with daisies in the month of May. English, though perhaps the most muscular and copious language in the world, is harsh and sibilant ; while the Scotch, with its beautiful terminational diminutives, is almost as soft' (and, we may add, as musical) 'as the Italian.' To find out the affinity existing between the Lowland Scotch and Old English, one has only to turn to the Glossaries appended to modern editions of the works of Piers Ploughman, Chaucer, or even of Shakespeare. The identity is obvious, and it may be fairly said that Lowland Scotch possesses in its vocabulary, not only every word of modern English, but also a large number of words which the latter has suffered to drop away. The sources whence the Scottish language has drawn many of its riches are the French and Gaelic. Dr. Mackay mentions also the German, but it is open to doubt whether the German words to which he refers a number of Scottish words are anything more than derivations from the same roots as the Scottish, and are related to them, not as sources, but as offshoots from the same stems. Dr. Mackay's purpose, however, is not so much to treat of the origin and character of the Scottish language, as to explain its peculiar words, and to exhibit their wit and humour. This part of his work he has done with considerable skill. Scotchmen, and lovers of Burns who are not Scotchmen, will read his book with pleasure. With Dr. Mackay for his interpreter, any one with the merest smattering of English will be able to understand and to feel the mingled tenderness and humour of the following lines, which to an ordinary Englishman are simply unintelligible :—

' A cotter howkin in a sheugh,
 Wi' dirty stanes biggin a dyke,
 Baring a quarry and sic like ;
 Himsel' an' wife he thus sustains,
 A smytrie o' wee duddie weans,
 An' nocht but his hand darg to keep
 Them right and tight in thack and rape.'

Dr. Mackay is perhaps a little too fond of going to the Gaelic for his etymologies ; but as etymology is scarcely an exact science, and as there is probably as much truth in the legend that Gaelic was the language spoken in Eden as there is in some others of the same kind, we shall simply enter our dissent from some of his opinions. Some words which might have been included in his list are omitted, as, *e.g.*, *sheugh*, a trench. It ought to be added that the edition of Jamieson referred to by the author is not that which has just been issued under the joint editorship of Dr. Longmuir and Mr. Donaldson.

The Buke of the Howlat. Edited by DAVID DONALDSON,
 F.E.I.S. Paisley : Alex. Gardner. 1882.

This very beautiful reprint is decidedly the best edition of an extremely rare and valuable poem, the authorship of which is usually ascribed, on somewhat doubtful authority, to Sir Richard Holland. First printed in 1792 from a MS. written in 1568, it was edited and printed by Laing in 1823 for the Bannatyne Club. The impression being limited, copies of that edition are now extremely rare, and usually command high prices. The present edition, therefore, is exceedingly timely, and supplies a want which has long been felt. Substantially a reprint of Dr. Laing's edition, it is in many respects greatly superior to it. A comparison of the various readings, placed at the foot of each page, with the few given by Dr. Laing in his Appendix, affords abundant evidence of the tact and careful manner in which Mr. Donaldson, than whom a more competent editor could not have been found, has executed his work.

*Scotland Sixty Years Ago : a Series of Thirty-two Etchings of the
 Chief Towns in Scotland and their Surroundings.* Paisley :
 Alex. Gardner. 1882.

Apart from its value as a work of Art, this magnificent volume of etchings is of great interest to the student of history and economics. While turning over its pages we have been forcibly struck with the immense stride which the northern part of the island has taken during the last sixty years. This was especially the case when examining the etchings here given of such towns as Aberdeen, Montrose, Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paisley, and Greenock, and comparing them with the towns and cities as they now are. Such is the vast change which has come over some of the places, that, were it not that the old landmarks and monuments still remain, and are here

sketched with much fidelity, we should have considerable difficulty in recognising them. As a work of Art, the value of this volume cannot be easily overrated. Originally drawn on the spot in 1823 and the two following years by Mr. J. Clark, well known in his day as an excellent draughtsman, the plates were shortly afterwards published by Messrs. Smith, Elder, & Co. The present publisher has now reproduced them with all the advantages of modern improvements. Whether it be owing to this, or whether it be that plates, like good wine, improve with keeping, we will not undertake to say; but we have no hesitation in saying that, in our opinion, the present issue is superior to the old. The etchings have lost nothing of their sharpness; the drawing and perspective are excellent, and are a great improvement on many more recent productions; while the paper and mechanical part of the work are a credit to all concerned. Altogether, this is a magnificent and important publication. We learn that only one hundred and fifty copies have been struck off.

A Little Pilgrim: In the Unseen. London: Macmillan & Co., 1882.

This is a little bit of purely imaginative writing. To some people it will convey an almost sacred comfort: others will shrink from it with a kind of repugnance. It is the story of one who has died—died without knowing it—and has entered into the Unseen. The friends who welcome her: the work she finds to do there: the wonder, the joy, the peace of everything: the strength that comes to her after she has seen the Lord are all described in simple and beautiful words. ‘Died?’ she said, looking with wonder in her companion’s face, which smiled back to her. ‘But do you mean—? You cannot mean—? I have never been so well. I am so strong. I have no trouble anywhere. I am full of life.’ The main idea of the ‘Little Pilgrim’ is manifest to the most cursory reader, he cannot mistake it. It is a protest against that idea which represents Heaven as a perpetual Church, where adoring worship goes on without interruption, or as a perpetual rest, where no work ever moves the soul to fresh energy and new life, or as an immediate perfection, which is capable of no progress either in knowledge or in goodness. The thought which underlies all the poetic fancy of the book is that in the world beyond every faculty and power of which we are conscious on earth, will have full scope and development; that it is a place where men and women still have need of human service and of human love; where blessedness is not without that touch of pain which the perfecting of joy requires, and where the soul only gradually advances in the beauty of holiness, and learns, by slow degrees, the meaning of the Father’s ways, and the depth of the Father’s love. The author deals with the subject as an artist. She does not enter into it philosophically, nor give any hint of the foundations upon which her ideas rest; consequently, many people to whom these ideas are unfamiliar may look upon them as only a

dreamer's dream, which deserves no serious consideration. Such, indeed, they must always remain to minds that abhor speculation, and would do away with it altogether. But to forbid it is an impossibility. Age after age turns with unquenchable interest to the mystery of 'the undiscovered country, from whose bourn no traveller returns.' The dim shades of Hades, the court of Valhalla, the poems of Virgil and Dante, the pictures of the Middle Ages, even the sensationalism of the so-called Spiritualists of the present day, all testify to thought that must find expression, or to curiosity that cannot be repressed. And since speculation will go on, it is important it should be guided in natural and healthy channels, and that its conjectures of the future should give worth and dignity to the present, and lead men to wise and trustful conceptions of the character of God. When we are so thoroughly in sympathy with the main idea of the book, it seems ungracious to take exception to the story which sets it forth. Yet for the sake of the idea, which we hold to be so precious, we must protest against the imagery which clothes it. For that, in all its detail, is fancy from beginning to end, and many people will reject it as worthless chaff, and thus reject at the same time the grain of wheat which it contains. The very beauty of the story increases this danger. As we read it, we are carried along by a tide of sympathetic emotion, but as soon as we lay it down, the illusion vanishes, and an almost angry disappointment possesses us. It is no reproach to the author's powers to say that, as far as teaching goes, the book is a failure. Any attempt to depict the invisible, and to describe the unknowable, must end in failure.

Julian Ormonde. By W. C. MAUGHAN, Author of 'The Alps of Arabia.' London: Alexander Gardner. 1882.

This book has caused us two distinct and severe shocks. *Julian Ormonde* is clad in a suit of sober pale stone colour, conspicuous only for exceedingly neat finish. In these days of firework titles and forked-lightning bindings, the utter absence of all ostentation seemed to imply strong confidence in merit which needed no external decoration. We opened the book hopefully—shock number one. Our eyes were instantly greeted with the well-known name of Rivers, metamorphosed into Rivours—why not Ryvours?—also by a woman pouring out tea, in the guise of a 'fair hostess dispensing that soothing beverage,' &c. Then we thought we certainly knew what was before us, and prepared to find ourselves shortly wading knee-deep amidst the mangled remains of all the Ten Commandments, the Eleventh only being reserved for utter demolition at the end of the last volume, when everyone should be found out. Shock number two. Before we were half through the first volume, we found ourselves peacefully embarked on a voyage round the world, in which some shadowy characters take part as mouthpieces of much commonplace conventional sentiment, and the actors in feebly-designed incidents and flaccid love scenes. This brace of shocks too seriously disarranged all our mental

machinery to let us attempt any close criticism. Mr. Maughan has some powers of description, which might serve him well in writing travels, could he get rid of a certain stilted mannerism of style which is most irritating, and an inveterate addiction to fine English. We cannot see any signs of a chance of his ever succeeding as a novel writer. One thing he must do, if he intends to adventure himself again before the public as such : he must either make all his characters Scotch or Irish, or learn to discriminate between 'shall' and 'will,' and to understand the English use of 'likely' and 'probably.' He had better also, on some fitting occasion, plunge into a pool with all his clothes on, and see whether on emerging he feels disposed to walk about, admiring scenery, and talking politics, without any change of raiment. He might, too, consult the first ship's captain he meets as to why a speaking-trumpet is a part of his professional apparatus ? He will then understand the necessity, the next time he represents his hero and heroine as indulging in religious conversation while they cling to the bulwarks amidst the roar of wind and water in a heavy gale at sea, of mentioning that they were provided with these useful instruments for making their remarks audible.

We have also received from Messrs. T. NELSON & SONS, London, Edinburgh, and New York :—*Beyond the Himalayas*, by John Geddie, a bright, healthy, and vigorously written story for boys, full of incident and adventure, and abounding in clear and striking descriptions of that wild and little known region which lies like an impassable barrier between India and China ; *Ralph's Year in Russia*, by Robert Richardson, a remarkably well written story of travel and adventure in Eastern Europe, in which the author manages with considerable skill to convey a large amount of interesting information about one of the strangest countries of Europe, its people, and their ways ; *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*, by John Geddie, a beautifully illustrated volume, containing a really able and excellently written summary of the discoveries of Speke and Grant, Sir Samuel Baker, Schweinfurth, Livingstone, Stanley, &c.—a more delightful work cannot be put in the hands of the young ; *Lost in the Backwoods*, by Mrs. Trail, a reprint, under a new title, of 'The Canadian Crusoe,' a well known and interesting story of romantic adventures in the forests of Canada ; *Stories of the Days of King Arthur*, in every respect one of the most charming books we have met with. The author's aim has been to make choice of such of the Arthurian legends as are most likely to captivate the imagination or to excite the attention of boy-readers. The execution of his work seems to us faultless.

From Messrs. MACNIVEN & WALLACE, Edinburgh, we have—*England's Essayists*, another volume of their *Cabinet Library*, in which the Rev. P. Anton gives a popular and extremely interesting account of the great English essayists, Addison, Bacon, De Quincey, and Lamb ; *The Galilean*

Gospel, a series of discourses of more than usual ability by Dr. A. B. Bruce, who has done so much for the interpretation of the New Testament, on our Lord's sayings and doings in Galilee; *The Lamb of God*, by W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., seven carefully written, scholarly and thoroughly evangelical discourses on passages taken from the writings of St. John; and the three most recent additions to their series of *Bible Class Primers*, viz., *The History of the Reformation*, by the Rev. Prof. Witherow; *Joshua and the Conquest*, by the Rev. Prof. Crookery; and *The Kings of Judah*, by the Rev. Prof. Given, Ph. D. These are distinguished and improved by the absence of editorial notes.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

THE DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (December) opens with 'Das Maler-Majorle,' a highly interesting novelette which Herr Gustav zu Putlitz brings to a close. Professor Th. Nöldeke of Strasburg contributes a masterly paper, 'Der Islam.' In some twenty pages the salient events in Islamism, from the Hegira to the nineteenth century, the various changes of dynasty, and the modifications of dogma which, like most creeds, though to a less extent than many, Mahomedanism has undergone, are clearly put before the reader. A thorough knowledge of the subject has enabled the author to give his sketch the correct perspective which is at once the difficulty and the charm of historical summaries. *Die Anfänge der Universitätsverfassung* is a reproduction of the inaugural address delivered by Professor Behrend on assuming the rectorship of the University of Greifswald. It traces the origin and development of the academic system in the oldest universities of Europe, those of Bologna and Paris. The sketch is interesting, but contains nothing new.—Herr von Neumann-Spallart's paper, 'Aus dem Gebiete der Social-Physiologie,' is intended to show the truth of A. Quetelet's axiom, that, 'like all that has come from the hands of the Almighty, the social body subsists by virtue of fixed principles,' and that, 'as well as the lowest of organic beings it, also, has its own physiology.'—The editor, Herr Julius Rodenberg, contributes a paper on Henry Thomas Buckle, based on a work which is itself only a compendium of the English biography, written by Buckle's young friend and fellow-traveller, Alfred H. Huth. Buckle's characteristic features are most ably drawn, from his noble love for his mother to his partiality for good cigars, from his skill as a chess-player to his pride in his superiority as a tea-maker. In a pregnant passage, Herr Rodenberg contrasts Buckle's philosophy of history with that of Carlyle. It would not be a fruitless task to compare the points of divergence between two theories of philosophy which moved in opposite extremes, that of Buckle and that of Carlyle. According to Carlyle, the inert mass progresses only through the power of the individual—'What I call Hero-worship and the Heroic in human affairs.' According to that of Buckle, the individual disappears completely in the movement of the mass. Carlyle sets the moral law, 'the eternal wonder of humanity,' before every other principle; Buckle gives the leading part to the intellect—'The principles of morality are the same as a thousand years ago; all progress has been intellectual.' According to Buckle, the progress of humanity is accomplished mechanically; according to Carlyle, the spiritual element predominates and reveals itself in the Deity, in the prophet, in the poet,

in the priest, in the writer, in the king. Carlyle says—'Universal history, the history of what man has accomplished in the world, is at bottom, the history of the great men who have worked here.' Buckle says—'The history of every civilized country is the history of its intellectual development, which kings, statesmen, and law-givers are rather calculated to delay than to hasten.'—The continuation of 'Aus zwei annectirten Ländern,' by a German Officer; a notice of the Hamilton Collection—from which we see that the Germans fully appreciate what we have lost; and a review of political events complete the number.

DEUTSCHE RUNDschau (January).—A complete story, 'The Sculptor of Cauterets,' contributed by Herr A. Meinhardt, is followed by a scholarly article, 'Das römische Afrika,' founded on the Latin inscriptions discovered in Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco, and giving a highly interesting sketch of the African provinces under Roman rule. Major Baron von der Goltz, the well-known military writer, gives an analysis of Colonel Blume's work on 'Strategy.' It is the work of a specialist, and intended for those who have some knowledge of military matters—no small percentage of the population in Germany. Even civilians may read with interest an explanation of the difference between two terms not unfrequently looked upon as convertible—Strategy and Tactics. 'Strategy determines the direction and the object of the movements of an army, the manner in which these are carried out comes within the province of Tactics.' The reminiscences, 'Aus zwei annectirten Ländern,' are concluded. Baron von der Brüggen's account of 'The Evangelical Movement in Russia' is replete with interesting details concerning 'Stundism' and the religious revival, at the head of which are Lord Radstock and his disciple, Paschkow, formerly a Colonel of the Guards. A peculiar feature of 'Stundism,' which has spread through whole villages, is that it has no head and can be traced to no distinct origin. Its name seems to be German, and is probably derived from the *Bet-stunden* or prayer-meetings of the German colonists. Literary, political and other reviews make up the remaining contents of an excellent and even more than usually varied number.

THE RUSSISCHE REVUE (10 Heft) concludes its account of the labours of Baron von Uslar in the Caucasus. Uslar, who died in 1875, was not appreciated during his lifetime to the extent that his unremitting and unselfish efforts to better the condition of the Caucasian Highlanders deserved. His work and his influence are beginning to be estimated at their just value. Statues and pictures of him now adorn most of the schools and some of the public and official buildings of Daghestan. The paper on the 'Domestic Animals of Russia' contains a number of elaborate statistical tables, from which one item possesses some interest for us. In 1876, the number of horses in Russia, not including Poland or Finland, was estimated at 16,151,000; in Great Britain and Ireland at 2,900,000. For horned cattle, sheep, and pigs, the numbers in thousands were respectively 21,857, 44,923, and 9,270 for Russia, as compared with 9,732, 32,220, and 3,984 for the United Kingdom. The article on 'The Production of Beet-root Sugar in Russia during the Campaign of 1880-81,' though full of minute details, is naturally of limited interest.

JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PROTESTANTISCHE THEOLOGIE. The first number for 1883 opens with a contribution to the Philosophy of Religion in the shape of an essay on 'The Human Ideal of Morality according to Christianity,' found amongst the literary remains of Professor C. Fortlage. Herr Stockmayer follows with some remarks 'On a Few Important Points in Ed. v. Hartmann's Latest Work: The Religious Consciousness of Humanity in the Various Phases of its Development.' The discussion of these points

leads the writer to the conclusion that nothing warrants the assumption that the Religion of the Mind, as proclaimed by Hartmann, represents a higher phase of development of religious consciousness than does Christianity. Such a religion can have no future in a religious nation, because religion is not merely theoretical, but, on the contrary, is intended to satisfy a practical want. An exegetical study by Herrn A. Merx treats of the value of the Septuagint for a critical examination of the text of the Old Testament. Herr Gelzer directs attention to the *Topographia Christiana* of Cosmas Indicopleustes. The credulity of this merchant and monk of the sixth century is interesting in its absurdity. He relates in perfect good faith that he saw, on the shore and in the bed of the Red Sea, the ruts made by the Egyptian chariot-wheels. Inscriptions which he found in the desert he believes to have been the result of the lessons in writing and reading given to the children of Israel during their sojourn in the wilderness. The importance of his 'Christian Topography' is chiefly owing to his minute and scrupulous accuracy of description. For the mere facts which he relates his word may be unhesitatingly taken. It is to him that we are indebted for the text of the famous Adulitan inscription. The monument on which it was engraved has disappeared, and but for the zeal of this commercial traveller of the sixth century a precious and trustworthy document would have been lost to modern science. La Croze, in his *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, argues that Cosmas must have been a Nestorian. Herr Gelzer puts it beyond doubt that he was perfectly orthodox. Not only does he bring forward satisfactory proof to show that the monastery to which Cosmas retired was always above suspicion, but he also quotes an invocation to the Virgin in which the orthodox *Geórgicos* is applied to her.—It is recorded of Luther that, in a conversation which he had with Melancthon, a few days before his departure from Wittenberg, he allowed that they had gone too far in the matter of the Sacrament: 'dass der Sach vom Abendmahle zu viel gethan sei,' that he thought it inexpedient to 'tone down the matter,' as Melancthon suggested, on the ground that this would bring the whole doctrine into discredit, but that he requested his friend 'to do something after his death.' This story is critically examined by Dr. Walte in an article, "Luther's Aeusserung an Melancthon über den Abendmahlslehrestreit." The writer emphatically asserts that the expressions here attributed to Luther are 'psychologically irreconcilable' with the letter written to Probst on the 17th January, 1546, as well as with the last sermon delivered at Wittenberg.—Hitherto the chief authority on the Life of Tauler, the celebrated theologian and preacher of the fourteenth century, has been the work published, in 1841, by Professor Carl Schmidt. From the picture there given of him, it is not easy to understand how Tauler's extreme mysticism deserved such high commendation as that contained in Luther's well-known letter to Spalatin: 'Neque enim ego vel in latina vel in nostra lingua theologiam vidi salubriorem et cum evangelio consonantiorem.' The aim of Dr. Mehlhorn's article is to show that the so-called 'Meisterbuch,' which purports to record Tauler's conversion, is neither genuine nor authentic; that it is not the work of Nicholas of Basle, and that it bears no reference whatever to Tauler. In the first place, it can be proved that Tauler never was, and never bore the title of 'Master.' Secondly, there is independent evidence to show that Tauler's occupations from 1346-48 precluded the possibility of the events narrated in the 'Meisterbuch.' Furthermore, the date and circumstances of the 'Master's' death do not correspond with those of Tauler's. Lastly, the manner, no less than the matter of the sermons attributed to Tauler, in the 'Meisterbuch,' is inconsistent with that of those discourses which are known to be authentic. To make assurance doubly

sure, Dr. Mehlhorn, who, it ought to be mentioned, is reproducing the arguments of the learned Dominican Denifle, traces the gradual development of the 'Meisterbuch' itself. In its original form it did not give the name of the 'Master' any more than that of the mysterious 'Man,' by whom his conversion is wrought. It was only in later manuscripts that the eminent preacher was substituted for the anonymous 'Master.' The remaining articles are 'Paulinische Studien,' O. Pfeleiderer; 'Zu den Acten des Petrus und Andreas,' R. A. Lipsius; and 'Der redende Löwe bei Commodian,' R. A. Lipsius.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (November).—In this number three articles are devoted exclusively to Prussian affairs. They are, Herr Kalle's plea for a reform of rates and taxes, 'Zur Staats- und Communalsteuerreform in Preussen,' Herr Julian Schmidt's politico-philosophical dissertation on 'The Categorical Imperative and Prussia,' and Herr von Treitschke's very just remarks on the unexpected result of the Prussian elections: 'Die Wahlen zum preussischen Landtage.' The second of these introduces an interesting sketch of Kant's way of life. 'Aus Weimar und Kochberg' contains and explains letters between Charlotte von Stein and Herder's family. It is scarcely necessary to state that the chief figure in the correspondence and in the essay is Goethe; hence their interest. An anonymous but important paper treats of the Russo-German frontiers: 'Die deutsch russischen Gränzlande vom strategischen Standpunkt aus betrachtet.' It points out the advantage to Russia of the wedge of territory which would enable it to bring an army within forty-six miles (German) of Berlin without crossing the frontier. An army attacking in this direction would, it is true, run the risk of having its communication cut off by a German army operating from the south; the latter, however, would have considerable obstacles thrown in its way by the nature of the country.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (December).—'Heerwesen und Kriegführung in der Neuzeit,' Captain von Kaltenborn's paper, gives detailed information as to the theory of war. The introduction, in which the tactics of Frederick and of Napoleon are compared, is particularly interesting. The author writes in the spirit of one who is convinced that war is a necessary evil, and that its object is to do the enemy as much harm as possible. In an article on legal training—'Die Ausbildung der Juristen,' Herr O. Bähr considers the question, to which recent legislation has given some prominence, whether, of the statutory seven years, four ought to be spent at the university and three in practical preparation, or whether the length of time ought to be reversed. The writer is of opinion that an obligatory term of theoretical training is an anachronism; that, if one must be fixed, it ought not to be unduly lengthened at the expense of practical training; and further, that, if it should appear necessary to extend it, this might be done by requiring more earnest study than can, for example, be done in a course which allows five lectures weekly, during three months, to count as a half-year's work. Starting from the assumption that 'the centre of gravity of jurisprudence is in the judge and not in the advocate,' Herr Bähr considers it inexpedient that the 'Referendar' should pass the years of his technical apprenticeship in a solicitor's office. In a personal protest, Professor von Treitschke challenges the competence of the Press to take cognizance of academic lectures. In another he replies to Herr Baumgarten's strictures on his 'History of the German Empire.' We here read that all research in the archives of Vienna, posterior to 1815, is strictly forbidden. This number further contains—'Eine Klassische Lobschrift auf Wincklemann,'—the panegyric in question being Herder's,—and [the] usual political correspondence, and notices of recent publications.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (1883). *Zweites Heft*.—The contributions to this second number for the current year are all of very special interest, and are marked, we need hardly say, by the usual scholarship and careful literary execution characteristic of the articles that appear in this long established and deservedly popular journal of theological science. The first is from the pen of Professor A. Dorner, of Wittenberg, and deals with the subject of the 'Essence of Religion.' It is in two parts. In the first are noticed the four methods followed by those who seek to trace religion to its source in human history, or human consciousness, and to define its nature or state its constituent elements. These methods are—the historical, the psychological, the genetic, and the purely critical. Prof. Dorner sets himself to show how each of these methods, taken by itself, and followed independently of the others, leads, and cannot but lead, to one-sided, and therefore imperfect conceptions of what religion is, and false conclusions as to how it originates. He next passes in review the definitions given of religion by the most prominent representatives of the historical and other schools, and points out wherein they fail to account for this or that characteristic of the religious consciousness, or fact of religious history. He, then, in the second part of his article, gives his own opinion as to the origin and essence of religion, and seeks to show how his view of it satisfies all the requirements of religious experience and life. His idea of the genesis of religion is, that it is produced in the spirit of man by the direct and immediate act of God revealing himself to the individual. The spirit of man is, according to Professor Dorner, pre-disposed to accept such a revelation by the feeling which everywhere possesses it of its absolute dependence on some higher, stronger, and holier Being than itself—a feeling which is born in every man with the birth of thought. Religion being thus produced in the soul quickens into life all the latent powers of intellect, emotion, and will; and, as they develop through exercise and experience, the conceptions of God gradually become purer and loftier, and the ideas of duty larger and more comprehensive; while the will and the power to follow the guidance of this purified reason and conscience become daily more vigorous and imperative. Professor Dorner thus finds in religion the efficient factor of human advancement in every direction, whether it be intellectual, moral, or æsthetic. Dr. Ryssel, Privat-Docent at the University of Leipzig, follows with a long, but extremely interesting, account of the writings of George, or Georgius, 'Bishop of the Arabians,' in Central Syria, who flourished about the eighth century of our era, and the seat of whose see was at Hirta. The largest part of this article is taken up with a minute and scholarly analysis of what is considered the most important of his many literary remains—a letter to one of his presbyters, Jesus, or Joshua, by name in answer to nine questions addressed to him by the latter on church matters. Dr. Ryssel, however, prefaces this analysis by a brief but graphic history of the growth and fortunes of the Syrian, or Eastern Churches, and of the literary activity which characterised the churchmen there, both Nestorian and Jacobite, in these centuries so disastrous to the intellectual life of Southern and Western Europe, and gives also a short account of this Bishop's other writings. This is an extremely interesting part of his article, and cannot fail to attract and instruct all who read it. The other articles, both of considerable interest and merit, are on 'Luther's Translation of the Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament,' by Professor Grimm, of Jena, one of the Committee, or Commission, engaged in revising Luther's Bible, and on 'the original MSS. of the Articles of Marburg,' which is in the State Archives of Zurich, by Pfarrer Usteri, of Hinweil. A facsimile of this MSS. accompanies Pfarrer Usteri's paper. Altogether, this number of the *STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN* will

be found to be of even more than ordinary interest. The short notices of some recent publications are also worthy of attention.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (December, 1882).—‘Les nouveaux expédients en faveur du libre arbitre.’ (A. Fouillée.) Under the influence of certain schools of philosophy there has arisen, of late years, a kind of anti-scientific reaction in favour of morality. Some philosophers have endeavoured to show—a task of no great difficulty—that science does not know everything. They have even gone further, and assumed that they were entitled to fill up the gaps of science by asserting the existence of a free-will not amenable to scientific laws. Where science was silent, they thought themselves authorized to speak in whatever sense they chose, and even to admit miracles. Others, on the other hand, have done their utmost to enlist science itself on the side of free-will. The sciences which seem least suited to fit in with miraculous power are logic and mechanics. Now, these are the very two which it has been endeavoured to bring under the sway of free-will. To show that without it they cannot subsist would be a master-stroke of tactics. The attempt to do so has resulted in the introduction of a number of logical and mechanical sleights of hand, real arguments *ex machina*, into a question of a purely psychological and moral nature. This question of liberty contains a whole nestful of sophisms—to use Kant’s expression—and M. Fouillée undertakes to disperse them by beating the logical or mathematical bushes in which they are hidden. With this object he considers ‘Free-will and Thought,’ ‘Free-will and Action,’ ‘Free-will and Movement.’ As might be expected from one of the foremost champions of determinism, he denies all force to the logical and mechanical expédients—he does not dignify them with the name of arguments—by which the opponents of his system endeavour to support their theory of free-will.—Those whom ‘The History of the Conception of the Infinite in the Sixth Century, B.C.,’ may interest will find the subject ably treated in M. Tannery’s paper. The most unphilosophical of readers will scarcely find his analysis of the opinions of Pythagoras, of Parmenides, of Theophrastus, but above all of Xenophanes, wanting in clearness.—In a clever and bold article on ‘The Conditions of Happiness and Human Evolution,’ M. Paulham considers some of the aspects of the important and oft-recurring question—‘Is life worth living?’ With Mr. Herbert Spencer he assumes that it is happiness which gives life its value, and the problem, therefore, presents itself to him in this modified form—Does life afford man sufficient happiness to make it advantageous for him to live? The answer will naturally depend on the view taken of happiness. According to M. Paulham’s definition it consists in the harmony between the inclinations of a being and the conditions of existence of that being, or, in other words, in the adaptation of an organism to its medium. It follows from this theory that the life of a happy animal has more value than the life of an unhappy man. ‘Il est sûr que la vie d’un animal heureux a plus de valeur que la vie d’un homme malheureux.’ If we judge of individual human existences by this standard, we must also admit that a man of inferior parts may, in certain respects, be superior to a man of eminent ability. This will prepare us for the statement that evolution, or, in other terms, progress, may be considered as, in a general way, hurtful to the happiness of a species. It is a proof of imperfection. To the question which of the two outweighs the other, good or evil, M. Paulham’s answer is scarcely cheering. The amount of inconvenience due to evolution is, he tells us, far greater than we are generally inclined to believe. Applying this to one of the most practical questions of the day, he does not hesitate to express grave doubts as to the influence of education

on the happiness of the people. 'Apart from a few practical notions, the immediate utility of which cannot be challenged, one does not very well see of what utility instruction will be.' From all this there is but a step to the recognition of suicide as a justifiable means of escape from the ills which beset humanity. M. Paulham does not fear to take it. 'It must be noticed,' he remarks, 'that, from the point of view of empirical morality, there attaches absolutely no blame to the individual who kills himself. I am not speaking here of those cases in which the death of a man is a real deliverance for himself, for his family, and for society. Let us admit the most unfavourable case, that, to all appearances the most guilty, in which the man who dies was really useful to his fellows. Placing ourselves on the highest point of view, we cannot in any way blame him.' 'On ne peut, en se plaçant au point de vue le plus élevé, le blâmer en rien.' In his closing words, M. Paulham carries these principles to their legitimate conclusion. 'If pessimism were perfectly established, if it were proved that life is and will remain evil, it is clear that general suicide would be the best possible practice, a duty, so to speak, for by its means man would put an end to his own sufferings, and prevent those of future generations.' The remaining articles of this number are analyses of the following works: *W. Graham. The Creed of Science, Religious, Moral, and Social.*—Lazarus; *Das Leben der Seele in Monographien.*—R. Falkenberg; *Grundzüge der Philosophie des Nicolaus Cusanus.*

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (January, 1883).—In this number M. Ch. Lévêque, of the *Institut*, continues his studies on 'Musical Aesthetics in France.' The present paper is devoted to the 'Psychology of the Orchestra and of Symphony.' Starting from the axiom enunciated by Chabanon, that—'When the voice sings without words it is nothing more than an instrument,' he develops the converse proposition that—'A musical instrument is a voice which sings without words.' This leads him to the conclusion that 'the whole orchestra is nothing but an assemblage of voices singing without words.' In an article on 'Contemporary Philosophers,' M. Séailles expounds the system of his old teacher, M. Jules Lachelier. The author of 'Du fondement de l'induction' is not widely known, for, as the writer says, 'he has taken as much care to remain unknown as other writers do to make themselves known.' From his position as Professor of Philosophy at the *Ecole Normale Supérieure*, the influence which he has exercised on French philosophy is far greater than that of many a more voluminous philosopher.—M. Tarde's 'La statistique criminelle du dernier demi-siècle' deals exclusively with France. It shows us how unsafe it may sometimes prove to draw inferences from bare figures. According to a recent official report felonies (*crimes*) have diminished by nearly a half within the last fifty years, whereas misdemeanours (*délits*) have augmented threefold. This moral change, however, is merely apparent. It is only the result of a systematic minimizing of the offence, in order to ensure a conviction. The works analysed are—'Kant and his Critics' (J. Watson), and 'Animal Intelligence.' (Romanes).

JOURNAL DES SAVANTS.—In the December number M. Wallon concludes his elaborate criticism and analysis of the new illustrated edition of M. Duruy's *Histoire des Romains*. It is not without interest to notice how both author and critic manage to introduce modern politics, and to find a vent for their party spirit, even in learned dissertations about Augustus. 'The whole State in one man, and that man raised above men, and proclaimed a God.' Such is the forcible summary of M. Durny's exposition of the government of Rome under Augustus. Then he adds, 'Let us not cry out against this. We do the same thing under another form when we pro-

claim certain men to be providential. Have we not just seen an invading and pillaging chieftain (un chef d'invasion et de pillage) take heaven for the accomplice of his iniquities, and bear witness each day to the mission which he was fulfilling with the aid and by the grace of God? Imperialism for imperialism, that which M. Duruy attacks with questionable taste, is no worse than that to which he has pinned his own political faith. He lays himself open to a retort which M. Wallon does not forget to give him. 'He quotes one,' says the critic, 'he has known another, and he could have told us how far these human providences (ces hommes-providences) sometimes lead a people which has blindly given itself up to them.'—The Pigmies of Homer, of Herodotus, of Aristotle, and of Pliny are treated of by M. de Quatrefages in a paper which is, however, rather anthropological than classical. From an investigation of the facts brought to light by modern science, he concludes that the Pigmies of the Rio Grande and those on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico are nearly related, and that both are connected with the dwarfs to whom the Nasamons called Herodotus's attention. He is further of opinion that there exists to the south of the Gallas countries a centre of pigmy population, and that we are justified in looking upon these Oriental tribes as descended from the Pigmies of which Pomponius Mela speaks. To Schweinfurth, who discovered the dwarf Akkas in the heart of Africa, he attributes the honour of having demonstrated how much reality underlies Homer's myth, and of having justified the words of Aristotle. It is worthy of notice that the name Akka, which the African Pigmies still bear, is identical with that which Mariette discovered by the side of the figure of a dwarf on a monument of the ancient Egyptian empire.—M. Miller contributes an article on 'The New Phrynicus,' in which he does full justice to the learning, research, and industry of Mr. Gunion Rutherford, whom he introduces as 'a candidate for a Chair of Greek in Edinburgh.' The appointment had not been made when this kindly and valuable testimonial was written. Mr. Rutherford may be congratulated on having won golden opinions from such eminent scholars as MM. Miller, Egger, and Cobet.—The next and concluding article reviews the *Monumenta Franciscana*, two volumes of the important collection entitled 'Rerum Britannicarum Medii Œvi Scriptores.' The chronicle of Thomas of Eccleston, contained in the first of these volumes, supplies some important facts omitted by M. Daunou in the life of Robert Grossetête, contributed by him to the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*. They are the more interesting to us that they are connected with the foundation of the University of Oxford. The first volume of the *Monumenta* has enabled M. Hauréau to make a discovery which is of importance to future biographers of Roger Bacon. Bayle records, on the authority of Leland, that St. Bonaventura, general of the Minorites, wrote a letter to Roger Bacon with reference to the three articles of the Franciscan rule concerning poverty, manual labour, and the study of books. The letter was supposed to be lost. M. Hauréau puts it beyond doubt that this important and interesting document is still extant, and is no other than the treatise beginning 'Innominato magistro Frater Bonaventura spiritum intelligentie veritatis.'

LE LIVRE (January).—'The Librarians of the Emperor Napoleon I.' is the subject of the first article. The sketch of the library of Fontainebleau, contained in Barbier's letter of thanks to the emperor for his appointment, forms an interesting item; so does the list of some of the books which Napoleon took with him to Elba. Amongst them we see—Homer, Anacreon, Ovid, Ossian, Tasso, Ariosto, Cæsar, Sallust, Thucydides, Suetonius, Polybius, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Xiphiline. M. Eugène Forgues begins a series of notices of 'The Illustrators of Books of the Nineteenth Century' with a sketch of M. Camille Rogier. An interesting account of the musical library attached to the Conserva-

toire is contributed by M. A. Pouglin. The *Chronique* gives analyses of several unpublished letters of Voltaire's. In one of these mention is made of Shakespeare, of Thomson, and of the English stage. According to Voltaire, had Thomson been less given to declamation, he would have reformed the English stage which Shakespeare 'created and spoiled'—'a fait naître et a gâté.' The letter then continues:—'But, in spite of all his barbarism and his absurdity, this Jack Shakespeare, like Lopez de Vega, has touches of such simplicity and truth, and such an imposing uproar of action, that all Pierre Corneille's argumentations are ice-cold in comparison with this Jack's tragedy. People still run to see his plays and enjoy them, even though they find them absurd.' Let us add that the original of the epithet applied to Shakespeare in this precious criticism is 'ce Gilles,' and that 'Gilles' is the clown, the bumpkin of the old comedy. Another interesting letter in the same collection is one written by Turenne to Mazarin. It is dated Amiens, August 31, 1659, and deals exclusively with France's negotiations for the re-establishment of the Stuarts on the English throne. The letter was sold for 1,650 frs. at a late auction. The *Bibliographie Moderne* gives a detailed account of the latest literary novelties.

REVUE CHRETIENNE (December.) M. F. Godet reviews the 'Life of Jesus' by Bernhard Weiss, and welcomes it as a book which satisfies both the most rigorous exigencies of contemporary science and the most pressing needs of faith. He does not, however, adopt Professor Weiss's view, that the Gospels of Luke and of Matthew were compiled from an ante-canonical collection of the doctrines of Christ, drawn up by Matthew and written in Hebrew. He is of opinion that the Hebrew collection and the Greek Gospel are identical, and that Luke's information was drawn from some other source. Professor Weiss attributes certain discrepancies and inconsistencies in the Gospel of John to the freedom which he allowed himself in his narrative. M. Godet cannot admit that the Evangelist would have presumed to take such liberties in narrating the actions and reproducing the doctrines of Him whom he, at the very outset, styles the Word of God.—In a paper on 'Sunday Schools,' M. Ad. Causse pleads for a more thorough and systematic course of religious instruction, in order to meet the wants created by the entire secularisation of public schools in France. The *Chronique Philosophique* reviews M. Caro's *Matérialisme et la Science*, which, however, is no new work, as the third edition is dated 1876; M. de Broglie's *Le positivisme et la science expérimentale*, and M. Bouillier's *La vraie Conscience*. Professor Sabatier's *Chronique littéraire* is wholly, and M. de Pressensé's *Revue du Mois* in great part, devoted to M. Renan's recent *Souvenirs d'enfance et de jeunesse*.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES. (January). In this number a third instalment of M. Victor Cherbuliez's novel, *La Ferme du Choquard*, is followed by M. de Vogüé's interesting and instructive account of 'A Russian Sectary.' In 1880 the *Tver Messenger* announced the appearance, in the district of Novo Torjok, of a new sect, founded by a peasant of the village of Chevelino, Vassili Sutaief. According to the official paper, the followers of this heresiarch were rationalists; their principles seemed akin to those of stundism. They rejected the liturgy and the sacraments, they discarded images, and would have nothing to do with the orthodox clergy. They objected to military service, and refused to take the oath; they considered all men to be brothers, without distinction of sect, and advocated community of goods. This paragraph attracted the attention of M. Prougavine, whose patient investigations in connection with the various religious movements in Russia, have brought his name prominently before the Russian public. He proceeded to Chevelino, and remained there for several weeks, in intimate intercourse with 'the sectary of Tver.' The information thus acquired by him was communicated to the public in a series of articles which appeared in the *Altchouschie i jайдouschie pravdi*. On these M. de Vogüé has founded his article, enriching it, however, with graphic descriptions of the Russian peasantry, and of peasant life in the poor villages of the interior.—Viscount de Caix de Saint-Aymour relates his travelling experiences in an article on 'Bosnia and the Herzegovina.' The pith of the paper is contained in

the answer given by a Catholic raia to the viscount's question as to the changes brought about by the new Austrian rule. 'We have not greatly bettered our condition by the change of masters,' he said; 'the *begs* still take a third, and Franz-Joseph takes another third; all the impostors are the same, the only difference is that we are no longer beaten by the *begs*. No, we are not satisfied, and the Slavs who belong to Alexander are much happier than we, who are the subjects of Franz-Joseph.' The popular feeling, says M. de Saint-Aymour, may be resumed in these few words: 'Hope in Russia, hatred for the Hungarian and the *Schewada*, or German.'—Science is ably represented by M. F. Fouqué, who contributes a sketch of the history of 'The Artificial Reproduction of Minerals and of Rocks.' It begins with Gay-Lussac's discovery of the method by which laminae of oxyde of iron, in every respect identical with those which he had observed in the incandescent fissures of the crater of Vesuvius, might be produced. It then describes the discoveries of Berthier, of Ebelmen, of Sénarmont, of Durocher, of Sainte-Claire Deville, and other indefatigable workers, explains the experiments and the researches which led up to them, and closes with a brief explanation of the labours which resulted in the reproduction of almost all the rocks of igneous origin. The remaining articles are: *Les Biens d'Orléans et la loi de décembre 1872*, by M. de la Magdeleine; '*Le Livre de M. de Broglie sur Frédéric II. et Marie-Thérèse*,' by M. G. Valbert; and the usual literary and political notices.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS. Nos. Juillet-Août, et Septembre-Octobre.—This excellent REVUE has in general only one fault—its publication is provokingly irregular. It professes to be published at the end of every second month; in reality, we never know when to expect it. The two numbers that lie before us were both issued, with only a few days' interval, towards the close of December. Not a word of explanation is given as to the cause of delay, and we are consequently left to choose for ourselves, if we have a mind to speculate on the matter, between the two possibilities of stress of work at the printing office, and lack of matter in the editor's *sanctum*. The contents of these two numbers tempt us almost to adopt the latter alternative, as, in their case, the most probable cause of delay. Several of the articles in them have in whole or in part appeared elsewhere, only the 'where' is in every case honestly stated. The July-August number opens with a translation of Professor Kuenen's first Hibbert Lecture of last spring, that on 'Islam.' It gives also the introductory chapter of Professor A. Réville's recently published work, *Les Religions des Peuples non-civilisés*; of which work again the number for September-October, contains another chapter, that treating of the Esquimaux and their religion. As this work, in two volumes, was in the hands of the public before these numbers of the REVUE were issued, the reason for their insertion here is not very apparent. The article on the place of the History of Religions in the higher teaching of the Schools in Belgium, is also a reproduction, in a condensed form, of a paper printed some time ago in the *Revue de Belgique*. The most interesting part too of a contribution by the editor, M. Maurice Vernes, (the first seemingly of a series) on 'The early political and religious history of the Israelites,' has already appeared in a somewhat different connection in the pages of *La Nouvelle Revue*, while the rest of it is a summary of the contents of what is known as the Jehovistic Work in the Pentateuch, with large extracts from Kuenen's 'Religion of Israel,' and some critical observations on the opinions advanced in these. M. Maurice Vernes adopts the views of the school of German critics, to which Professors Reuss and Wellhausen belong, as to the age of the three great component part of the Pentateuch (or, including 'Joshua,' the Hexateuch), viz., that the Jehovistic work is the oldest, that the Deuteronomistic comes next in order, and that the youngest of all is the Elohist, the so-called 'Book of Origins.' M. Vernes consequently takes the Jehovistic work as the basis of his presentation of the early political, social, and religious condition of the Israelites, and follows it very closely. The Sanscrit professor at Yale College gives an enlarged edition of some criticisms passed by him at a meeting of the American 'Oriental Society' in Boston last year, on Professor Max Muller's opinions as to the henotheism of the old Vedas. The most important of all the contributions to these numbers of the

REVUE is, however, from the pen of M. J. A. Hild on the 'Legend of Aeneas.' It is a masterpiece of historical research and judicious criticism. M. Hild's object is to trace back the legend to its source, and to show the gradual transformation it underwent in the course of time, until finally Virgil raised it to the dignity of history, or at least gave it such a semblance of historical reality, that scholars ever since have been led to regard Aeneas as a veritable flesh-and-blood hero, whose mighty deeds have made his name an eternal memory. M. Hild does not, of course, share this opinion, and gives very cogent reasons for not doing so. His treatment of the whole legend is very interesting.

VRAGEN DES TIJDS (Questions of the Day) has contained several interesting papers during the last few months. Many of the questions of the day discussed in Holland are large questions which occupy the public mind in every country, such as the due relation of work and play in public schools, the position of women and the opening up to them of active careers in the State, the proper course of study in female education, and the just division of the profits of the soil among the landlord, the tenant, and the State. On this last subject the December number of this periodical has a paper by Mr. Cort van der Linden, with the title 'Social Rent.' The argument is highly speculative, and seeks to prove that under the existing system the landlord and the capitalist receive a larger profit than is just, and that a large part of what is held by them as private property ought to belong to the State, without the protection and co-operation of which their industry would not have been possible. Society, it is argued, assists in every work of reclamation and of industry; and the neglect of the rent which is due to society has been the great error of political economy up to this time. If the workman is paid for his labour by receiving protection for further profitable industry, and by the profit he makes during his lifetime, it is not just that he should be further rewarded by being enabled to make drafts upon the society of a subsequent century in the person of his posterity who inherit his accumulations. The paper would rejoice the heart of Mr. Henry George. A similar impatience of individual rights appears in a paper in the January number of the VRAGEN, entitled 'An Attempt to Solve the Agrarian Problem,' by Mr. S. van Houten. The solution is that the State is to declare and freely to exercise its right of appropriating land, not at a speculative price, but at the price it is worth for the purpose it is found applied to. Land for feuing in the neighbourhood of towns, land for market-gardening further from the town, and waste land to be reclaimed, is thus to be obtained cheaply by the State; and the State is to share the profit with the new occupier. It will thus yield its profit, not to the speculator, but to those who labour in developing its resources, and the public burdens are at the same time to be lightened and other agreeable results procured. Questions are also discussed which are peculiar to Holland. The fear of German invasion is never far from the Dutch mind, and we have papers on the new Government proposals for revising the system of border fortresses, and on the best way to officer the reserve forces of the country.

A powerful paper in the GIDS for December is also connected with this subject—'Our Nationality,' by J. H. Hooijer. There are those who think that Holland, especially young Holland, is growing indifferent to the continued nationality of the country, and that the certain approach, as they deem it, of the absorption of Holland in the larger world of Germany, is not a thing to be regretted. Similar views may be heard among ourselves as to our Scotch nationality, but the disappearance of the Dutch as a separate nation would be a much greater change and loss than any we could be called on to undergo. Mr. Hooijer has no fear or doubt but that Holland will continue to be a nation. While lamenting the disunion of his countrymen in matters of religion, he summons them to be united in the resolution to defend their country, and to adopt a system which would make the whole population fit to appear in the field, as they did against the Spaniards. The December GIDS has a delightful account by Dr. A. S. van Hamel, formerly a theologian, now a *litterateur* and resident in Paris, of the first and the second representation at Paris of V. Hugo's play 'Le roi s'aumae.' The same writer contributes to the GIDS for January an

amusing paper on the old jongleur's Pilgrimage of Charlemagne, in which he sees a complete reflection of the French character.

The THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT for January is taken up almost entirely with discussions relating to the strange theory of Dr. A. Loman, that the four principal Epistles of St. Paul were composed in the middle of the second century. Of this subject we cannot give a full report at present; but we may possibly give a description of Dr. Loman's theory in a future number.

Several of the Dutch reviews mention with deep regret the death, on 4th Dec., of J. W. Straatman. This gifted man was formerly a minister of the Reformed Church; but his views with regard to the early history of Christianity led him to such a point that he felt it necessary to demit his orders. He published several works on New Testament subjects; but the bright and lively style in which they were written could not gain acceptance for the somewhat extreme and often fanciful views they contained. He afterwards turned his attention to letters, and became one of the editors of the VRAGEN.

THE NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (October 15th, November 1st and 15th, December 1st and 15th.) The first of these numbers contains a learned account of the life and criticisms of the writings of St. Francesco d'Assisi by Signor Bonghi, accompanied by innumerable and rather formidable looking footnotes. The author in his account omits the miracles, because, he says, they add nothing to the grandeur of the holy man, and must be either entirely accepted or entirely rejected by each individual, for to try to explain them by natural causes is both morbid and vain. They can all be found in a life of Francesco written not more than three years after his death. 'This man, Francesco,' says Bonghi, 'well-deserved the adoration of the people, and that artists should have depicted his works in one of the most beautiful temples in Europe. He planted the tree of love—

“ Un arbore d'amore con gran frutto
In cor plantato da me da pacimento—”

in the heart of many generations, and from it issued influences that moved men's imaginations, and rendered human thought capable of new florescence.' Massarani's article on Virgil is continued. An original but disagreeable story by a rising Italian authoress, Miss Serdo, vexes us by its imitation of a bad French style. With great powers of psychological dissection, Miss Serdo chooses repulsive characters. Those of the story before us are morbid, unhappy beings; the life of one has been 'devastated,' and of the other 'wrecked.' The dark picture of their lives is painted without a ray of light, and the authoress's undoubted power only serves to render it the more repulsive. An ex-Italian deputy, Signor Maldini, commences a long article on the bombardment of Alexandria, the interest of which, for us, lies in the second part in the number noticed below. The foreign works reviewed are Roux's *La littérature contemporaine en Italie*, which the critic says deserves grateful recognition; two books on Wagner, one by Judith Gautier, the other by Glaserapp, and three other French books *Henriette d'Angleterre*, *La Femme*, and *L'Empire des Tsars*. The political article, among other things, says that England is lying on no bed of roses, and that it is desirable that Gladstone should remain in power, as then there will be more hope of the pacific settlement of the Egyptian question. Fears are expressed that if France be left behind in the Egyptian question, the blow will shake the republican government, as no government can endure in France that does not satisfy the people's thirst for glory and conquest. The most important article in the first of the November numbers is one on 'Public Instruction in Italy,' by Professor Wiedemann of the University of Leipzig, who was induced to publish his opinions in an Italian Review by some of his Italian friends declaring that the judgment of a stranger on the subject would be of value. The Professor enters into the particulars of the system of instruction in the Italian public institutions and universities, finding cause for, and impartially distributing, both praise and blame. The whole system of instruction in Italy, he says, makes a curious impression on a stranger, and the key to it is difficult to be found. Two things strike the observer at once; the want of severe discipline, and of uninterrupted internal development. This want of steadiness is

seen not only in the schools and universities, but also in the domestic and foreign policy of Italy. The political transformations of the last few decades, though they have caused renewed development of science in Italy, have now become an obstacle, for as those at the head of the movement for the unity of Italy belonged mostly to the intellectual and cultivated classes, so now the nation demands that its men of science should still co-operate in the political development of the country, and thus many of the most eminent men of science grow dumb scientifically, because they 'make politics.' There is scarcely one eminent man of science who has not been a minister, or secretary. The poverty of learned men in Italy also has a tendency to drive them into political life. The Professor deplors the condition of most of the university libraries, where not only foreign, but the most important scientific Italian periodicals are often wanting. One reason, he remarks why Italian science is not appreciated in other countries as it ought to be, is the extreme length and tedious exposition of Italian scientific books and dissertations. The long article on the 'Bombardment of Alexandria and its consequences for the defence of Italy,' is concluded. After carefully collecting data, the author draws the conclusion that, relatively to the facts that occurred at Alexandria, the existing Italian fleet would have had the same success in silencing the forts as that obtained by the English fleet employed, and that, therefore, the tendency that exists to consider the Italian fleet as *null* is unfounded. But the destruction of the Alexandrian forts ought to alarm a country with such an extensive Mediterranean sea-board as Italy, showing, as it does, that it is indispensable for Italy to possess a fleet proportionate to her maritime interests and defence. As to the question whether the attack on Alexandria was necessary, Maldini is convinced that, from the strategic point of view, any other action was impossible to England. This number also contains a sketch of the Sahara, compiled from the most recent explorations; a short memoir of a gifted and most promising young Italian Professor of Philology, Napoleone Caix, who died in October last; a musical review in which it is complained that the too frequent repetition of Meyerbeer's operas in Italy renders them tedious; the political review, which contains nothing of importance; notices of several Italian books, of which one, 'L'infinita di Max Müller,' is a critical study, by one Nicotra Sangiocomo, written in opposition to Müller's theory of the origin of religion; a financial bulletin and various scraps of literary news. The number for the 15th November contains an article by Zanella on 'The Poems of Ossian, and Melchior Cesarotti,' who translated them into Italian; and another on Villari's book, *Machiavelli and his Times*, in which the critic gives a digest of the third and last volume. Under the title of 'Modern Constitutions,' Luigi Palma commences a long historical account of the 'Swiss Confederation.' Marchesa Colombi commences a novel entitled 'Without Love'; Carlo Anfosso writes on the 'Hurtful Applications on Chemistry,' such as falsifications, adulterations, poisonous substances on playthings, the aid to spiritualist impostors, etc.; Baratieri writes an article of Orazio Antinori, the African traveller, giving the chief facts of his life, and rendering the homage due to the man who 'fought, suffered, and fell like a hero.' There is also a political article on the result of the Italian elections by 'an ex-minister,' who concludes that it would be well for Parliament to leave political controversy alone, and stick to the study of social and administrative questions. The political review says that nothing is disturbed in the relations of Italy with Austria; that the solution which England is giving to the Egyptian Question has at least one advantage for Italy—namely, the Mediterranean will not become a French lake, and the interests of Italy will not be cruelly damaged.

The number for the 1st October begins with an article by Signor Villari on Turiello's work, 'Government and Governed.' Signor Villari thinks that Turiello has largely studied the works of Mr. Spencer, and that he has a continual tendency to consider Italian things and Italian society as the result of the evolution of the national character, whereas Signor Villari considers that the different parties and their evils, the benefits and harm which the country has received, are quite as much the outcome of the history of the Italian revolutions. Villari admits the truth of Turiello's observation that Italians are generally

obstinately blind to the existence among them of social questions, but doubts whether this and similar feelings are the consequence, as Turiello thinks, of an excess of individual force and personality. Giacomo Boglietto, under the title of 'French Contemporary Writers,' has a long article on Victor Cherbuliez. The article on the 'Swiss Confederation' is closed; Marchesa Colombi's novel is continued, and does not appear attractive; and there is also an article on 'Electricity as applied to Military and Naval Uses.' The political review discusses the opening of the Italian Parliament.

The number for the 1st December has an article by F. Novati on 'A Forgotten Poet'; Giovanni Redacchi, who, born in Cremona in 1785, died there in 1815, dictating a beautiful little ode, an adieu to his wife, with his last breath. Signor Brunialti writes an historical article on France and England in Madagascar, which concludes with these words—'It is sufficient for us to note, and it is a sorrowful conclusion, that the two great Powers of the Mediterranean, after hesitation, like Hercules at the crossroads, between the policy of *mani a casa* and colonial conquests, have resolutely chosen the latter. We Italians remain to defend, and perhaps to represent in the Mediterranean, that other policy. But it may be doubted whether we have the "hands." An article on 'Coral in Italy,' gives reasons why Italy should try to preserve the supremacy in the fishing of and trade in coral. The novel 'Without Love' is finished. Signor Bonghi writes a long article on the political oath, concluding with the words—'To ask for the abolition of the oath is a proof of the false and perilous direction of people's minds; to prevent the abolition and to maintain the oath is to prove that what is menaced in our society has still the consciousness of its own value, and is secure in its strength.' The most interesting part of the article 'Voyage in Patagonia,' by the traveller Lieutenant Bove, is the account he gives of the Jagan tribe in Terra del Fuego.

THE NUOVA ANTOLOGIA for January 1st, 1883, is more interesting than usual. After a long critical article on the 'Brindisi' (a poem by the eighteenth century poet, Giuseppe Parini), written by Giosuè Carducci, the living Italian poet, we have an historical article by Signor Franchetti on 'Boniface VIII. and the Commune of Florence according to the Vatican Documents,' which have been recently discovered, and which throw new light on the life of Dante and the history of the pontificate of the said Boniface. Signor Luzzatti writes the first part of a carefully-considered article on 'Socialism and Social Questions before the Parliaments of Europe,' in which he criticises the social politics of Bismarck, and notes the German and Austrian Parliaments as those where Socialism and Feudalism are seen in association. 'The only European Parliament,' he says, 'which keeps on the correct path is the English.' The beginning of a 'True Story' by Signor Barrili looks more attractive than usual. Signor Bonghi has a most interesting and argumentative article on the 'Vatican Tribunals,' in which he comes to the conclusion that, though the Pope has the right of adjudication in all cases that appertain solely to his own household, and that the Italian tribunals were wrong in believing that the immunity of the Pope's residence would not be violated nor his rights offended if a quarrel moved by one in his employ were to be judged by them. A very pleasing article by Signora Pigorini-Beri describes Christmas Eve among the Appenines of the Marches. The 'Review of Foreign Literature' is occupied solely with French works, of which the most important is Caro's book, '*M. Littré et le positivisme*.' The 'Political Review' discourses of the parliamentary vacation, and rejoices that the question of the political oath is now closed for a long time. Much is said on the death of Gambetta. The reviewer considers that Gambetta's politics 'did much harm and no good to France'; that it is premature to decide whether Gambetta's death will put an end to the bellicose ideas of his nation, but that, as far as human sight can go, it secures Germany from the probability of a war with France. There are various notices of new Italian books, one being a critical exposition of Herbert Spencer's views, '*L'evoluzionism di Erberto Spencer*,' by Giovanni Cesca. The reviewer says this book is less valuable than it might have been, for want of a comparison between the nature, results, and practical consequences of the theory of evolution, and the nature, results, and moral and social consequences of the philosophical and scientific theories opposed to the former.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Some of the following reached us too late for Review in the present number.

- The Life, Education and Wider Culture of the Christian Ministry. By J. S. Wilson, M.A. Edinburgh : W. Blackwood and Sons, 1882.
- The Theology of Consolation. By D. C. A. Agnew. Edin. : Ogle & Murray, 1881.
- Diaries and Letters of Philip Henry, M.A., of Broad Oak, Flintshire, A.D., 1631-1696. Edited by M. H. Lee, M.A. London : Kegan Paul, & Co., 1882.
- The Evidences of Natural Religion and the Truths Established Thereby. By C. M'Arthur. London : Hodder and Stoughton, 1882.
- A Life's Love. By George Barlow. London : Remington and Co., 1882.
- The Cities of Egypt. By R. S. Poole. London : Smith, Elder, and Co., 1882.
- The Galilean Gospel. By A. B. Bruce, D.D. Edin. : Macniven and Wallace, 1882.
- A History of the Reformation. By Rev. T. Witherow. Same Publishers, 1882.
- Joshua and the Conquest. By Rev. Professor Crookery. Same Publishers, 1882.
- C Sonnets by C Authors. Edited by Henry J. Nicoll. Same Publishers, 1883.
- Essays and Sketches of Edmund J. Armstrong. Edited by G. F. Armstrong. London : Longmans, Green, and Co., 1877.
- England's Essayists. By Rev. P. Anton. Edin. : Macniven and Wallace, 1883.
- German Classics, Vol. VI. Lessing's Nathan der Weise. Edited with English Notes, &c. By C. A. Bucheim. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1882.
- Landmarks of English Literature. By J. Nicoll. London : J. Hogg, 1883.
- The Homiletical Library. Edited by the Rev. Canon Spence, M.A., and the Rev. J. S. Exell, M.A. Vols. I., II. London : J. Nisbet and Co., 1882.
- Essays in Philosophical Criticism. Edited by Andrew Seth and R. B. Haldane, with a Preface by Edward Caird. London : Longmans, Green, & Co., 1883.
- The Land and the Book ; Central Palestine and Phœnicia. By W. M. Thomson, D.D. London : Nelson and Sons, 1883.
- The New Song and other Sermons for the Children's Hour. By the Rev. James Stalker, M.A. Same Publishers.
- Christian Ethics. Special Part. By Dr. H. Martensen, Bishop of Seeland. Translated from the German. Vol. I.—Individual Ethics, by W. Affleck, B.D., 1881, Vol. II.—Social Ethics. By Sophia Taylor, 1882. Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark. (Foreign Theological Library. *New Series.*)
- Biblical Theology of the New Testament. By Dr. Bernhard Weiss. Translated by Rev. D. Eaton, M.A. Same Publishers and Series, 1882.
- Among the Rocks Round Glasgow. By D. Bell. Glasgow : J. MacLehose, 1881.
- The Imperial Dictionary of the English Language. A complete Encyclopedic Lexicon, Literary, Scientific, and Technological. By J. Ogilvie, LL.D. New Revised and Augmented Edition. By Charles Annandale, M.A. Illustrated. 4 Vols. London : Blackie and Son, 1882.
- The Causation of Sleep. By James Cappie, M.D. Edinburgh : J. Thin, 1882.
- Sunday Mornings at Norwood. Prayers and Sermons by Rev. S. A. Tipple. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co., 1883.
- A Study of Origins ; or, The Problems of Knowledge, of Being, and of Duty. By E. de Pressensé, D.D. London : Hodder and Stoughton, 1883.
- The Greek Philosophers. By Alfred W. Benn. 2 Vols. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co., 1882.
- The Scottish Poets—Recent and Living. By A. G. Murdoch. Portraits. Glasgow : T. D. Morison.
- Farm Sermons. By C. H. Spurgeon. London : Passmore and Alabaster, 1882.
- The Treasury of David. Vol. VI. Ps. cxix. to cxxiv. By C. H. Spurgeon. Same Publishers.
- Scottish Loch Scenery. Illustrated by a Series of Coloured Plates from Drawings by A. F. Lydon. London : J. Walker and Co., 1882.
- Memorials of the Life and Ministry of Thomas Main, D.D. By His Widow. Edinburgh : Macniven and Wallace, 1883.
- The Lamb of God. Expositions in the Writings of St. John. By W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A. Edinburgh : Same Publishers, 1883.
- The Kings of Judah. By the Rev. Prof. Given, Ph.D. Same Publishers, 1883.
- Thoughts in the Cloister and the Crowd. By Sir Arthur Helps, K.C.B. Glasgow : Wilson and McCormick, 1883.
- Lectures on Teaching. By J. G. Fitch, M.A. Cambridge University Press, 18 2.
- Angus Graeme, Gamekeeper. 2 Vols. By the Author of *A Lonely Life*, etc. London and Paisley : A. Gardner.

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|---------------------------------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|
|                                             | 50           | 60          | 70         |
| 37 British Companies .. .. Males ..         | £ 1,385 18 0 | £ 1,058 4 0 | £ 746 14 0 |
| 24 Do. do. .. .. Females ..                 | 1,500 12 0   | 1,237 15 0  | 940 15 0   |
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	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
84,933	250 0 0	26 8 9	349 9 8
84,955	250 0 0	26 18 3	351 13 5
84,998	250 0 0	26 7 8	349 3 10
86,978	1,000 0 0	105 15 0	1,384 9 9
86,639	1,000 0 0	105 2 2	1,380 19 4
86,848	1,000 0 0	106 0 0	1,385 18 3

NOTE.—The Policy-holder in each case was insured against death during the ten years, and being alive at the maturity of the Policy, **HE RECEIVED AN AMOUNT EQUIVALENT TO THE REFUND OF ALL HE HAD INVESTED, WITH NEARLY FIVE PER CENT. COMPOUND INTEREST; THUS HIS INSURANCE DURING THE TEN YEARS COST HIM NOTHING.**

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Total Receipts of the year, including Interest	£579,032
The Realised Funds amounted to	£4,201,930
The Increase during the year being £288,678.	

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		Twenty-one Payments.	Fourteen Payments.	Seven Payments.		
21	£1 16 3	£2 10 6	£3 4 11	£5 10 0	£33 0 1	21
22	1 16 9	2 11 0	3 5 9	5 11 0	33 5 10	22
23	1 17 2	2 11 6	3 6 5	5 12 1	33 11 2	23
24	1 17 7	2 12 1	3 6 11	5 13 1	33 16 5	24
25	1 18 0	2 12 6	3 7 3	5 14 0	34 2 0	25
26	1 18 6	2 13 0	3 7 10	5 14 11	34 8 2	26
27	1 19 2	2 13 6	3 8 7	5 15 11	34 16 1	27
28	1 19 11	2 14 1	3 9 5	5 17 1	35 4 9	28
29	2 0 8	2 14 8	3 10 3	5 18 6	35 14 1	29
*30	2 1 6	2 15 4	3 11 2	6 0 1	36 4 0	*30
31	2 2 6	2 16 2	3 12 1	6 1 10	36 14 6	31
32	2 3 5	2 17 1	3 13 2	6 3 8	37 5 5	32
33	2 4 6	2 18 0	3 14 4	6 5 8	37 17 2	33
34	2 5 7	2 19 0	3 15 7	6 7 9	38 9 7	34
35	2 6 10	3 0 2	3 16 11	6 10 0	39 2 9	35
36	2 8 2	3 1 5	3 18 4	6 12 5	39 16 11	36
37	2 9 8	3 2 9	3 19 11	6 15 0	40 12 4	37
38	2 11 3	3 4 3	4 1 7	6 17 9	41 8 7	38
39	2 12 11	3 5 9	4 3 4	7 0 7	42 5 4	39
†40	2 14 9	3 7 5	4 5 2	7 3 7	43 2 10	†40
41	2 16 8	3 9 2	4 7 2	7 6 8	44 0 11	41
42	2 18 8	3 11 1	4 9 3	7 9 11	44 19 9	42
43	3 0 11	3 13 1	4 11 5	7 13 3	45 19 3	43
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45	3 5 9	3 17 6	4 16 4	8 0 7	48 0 8	45
46	3 8 5	4 0 0	4 19 1	8 4 6	49 2 8	46
47	3 11 5	4 2 8	5 2 1	8 8 8	50 5 8	47
48	3 14 8	4 5 8	5 5 4	8 13 2	51 9 7	48
49	3 18 1	4 8 9	5 8 9	8 17 11	52 14 1	49
50	4 1 7	4 12 1	5 12 4	9 2 10	53 19 3	50
51	4 5 6	4 15 5	5 16 1	9 7 11	55 4 5	51
52	4 9 5	4 18 10	5 19 11	9 13 1	56 9 0	52
53	4 13 5	5 2 5	6 3 11	9 18 3	57 12 11	53
54	4 17 8	5 6 3	6 8 0	10 3 5	58 17 2	54
55	5 1 11	5 10 2	6 12 1	10 8 6	60 0 8	55
56	5 6 4	.....	6 14 9	10 13 7	61 3 8	56
57	5 10 11	.....	6 18 8	10 18 8	62 6 5	57
58	5 15 9	.....	7 2 9	11 3 10	63 9 4	58
59	6 1 0	.....	7 7 3	11 9 0	64 12 11	59
60	6 6 7	.....	7 12 0	11 14 3	65 16 9	60

* EXAMPLE.—A person of 30 may thus secure £1000 at Death, by a yearly payment, during Life, of £20:15s. This Premium, if paid to any other of the Scottish Mutual Offices, would secure £200 only, instead of £1000.

[These Rates are about as low as the usual non-participating Rates of other Offices, which are expected to yield a surplus and whose sufficiency is guaranteed.]

OR, if unwilling to burden himself with payments during his whole life, he may secure the same sum of £1000 by twenty-one yearly payments of £27:13:4—being thus free of payment after age 50.

† At age 40 the Premium ceasing at age 60, is for £1000, £33:14:2, being about the same as most Offices require to be paid during the whole term of life.

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THE
SCOTTISH REVIEW.

NO. 2.

FEBRUARY,

1883.

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